

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN URBAN RENEWAL

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is the result of my study at the Institute for Policy Studies of the Johns Hopkins University as an International Junior Urban Fellow 1991-1992. In a very important period of changes for Bulgaria, I had the unique opportunity to learn from the experience of the USA, and particularly of Baltimore, in a topic that more and more has occupied my thinking during the last years of my work as an urban designer and an architect.

Citizen participation in urban renewal is a field closer to a social scholar. Anyhow, the peculiar circumstances in former communist Bulgaria, made me, the architect, touch this sphere of social life several years ago. This fact needs more explanation as it will make clearer my intentions and the result of my education at the Johns Hopkins University.

While in the advanced countries of Western democracy, architects presently perform mostly the technical part of urban planning, in Bulgaria the field of urbanism is still an exclusive domain of architects. I would compare the present state of Bulgarian urbanism to European urbanism from the postwar period. In a strictly controlled totalitarian society, there was no much space for social sciences in urbanism. Obviously, the physical aspects of urban planning were dominant, while the social aspects were left "in shadow". That is why, even the few urban sociologists in Bulgaria have a background in architecture. Despite the common definition in the beginning of all Bulgarian textbooks on urbanism that it is "a complex and multifacet profession which brings together many different experts", I would state that today urbanism in Bulgaria is still in its rudimentary, undifferentiated state. Eloquent is the fact that the Bulgarian word for urbanism "gradoustroistvo" is closer in its meaning to town-building, rather than to town-planning and in reality it refers predominantly to the physical problems of planning. The simplified way of decision-making in a centralized planning system did not need more than technical servants, able to implement or better -- give professional image to a decision already taken.

But as social laws work despite our will, in reality, the architects -urban planners encountered the real nature of their profession - the relationships among people and different social groups, the interaction of diverse and multiple interests. For some, the incompatibility and contradiction between the nature of our profession and the way it was exercised, led to frustration. Two years ago, the late Ivan Avramov, one of the most renowned Bulgarian urbanists told me that he had given up the idea of practicing because of his ultimate disappointment with "our townplanning". For others, the constant pondering "why our so professional work, presented in beautiful drawings does not work" created the need for dealing with not specific for our background knowledge. That is how, I reached the genuine for me "discovery" that the social aspects of urban renewal, a field in which I had specialized, are more important than the physical aspects, that the understanding of the indivisible whole of the social and physical sides of the problem is the crucial base for its eventual solution.

The last three years before 1989, I had been working on my doctorate "Urban Renewal Problems in the Old Centers of Danubian Towns in Bulgaria". It is where I reached the notion of the fusion between urban renewal and citizen participation. It was a result of my

desk-top research, as citizen participation did not exist in Bulgarian social reality. I was more and more interested in the process of decision-making and planning and the role of citizens in this process. The events at the end of 1989 and later on overtook me. Bulgaria went out of the era of pseudoperestroika and entered a period of dramatic and quick changes. The old centralized system collapsed within months. Quick decentralization changed entirely the context of our profession as urban planners and architects. Citizen action spurt out. Hundreds of informal groups and citizen associations came into being usually as a result of concrete urban problems, such as problems of conservation, urban rehabilitation and housing.

Having in mind the early stages of citizen actions in Western Europe and the USA, it is not difficult to make a parallel with the present situation in Bulgaria. Citizen actions in Bulgarian cities are as a rule directed against the policy of the local governments. These actions tend to be demanding, conflict-oriented and not constructive. There is no dialogue, not to speak of compromise and consensus. There is blocking of decisions and no coproduction in making them. A total lack of culture in this new sort of relationship exists among politicians, decision-makers, planners and citizens. There is total lack of literature, terminology, and generally knowledge on citizen participation methods and techniques as well. That is why, I had from the very start of my experience here, the idea of working broadly, covering the issue of citizen participation as a complex phenomenon. In this respect, my writing necessarily lacks detail and depth. Due to the absence of preliminary theoretical knowledge and proper academic background this paper could not be an original scientific work. It compiles knowledge which I derived from literature, from my meetings with scholars, politicians, professional planners and citizen activists; from academic courses and conferences; and finally from my overall experience in the USA.

This paper is intended as an attempt for throwing light onto a new field of Bulgarian social life and giving a general understanding what citizen participation is. It is an attempt of communicating an already known idea in a surrounding in which it spontaneously comes into being with a delay of several decades. It will target, after its eventual translation into Bulgarian, members of local governments, professional decision-makers and planners and citizen activists. A resume of it may address the general public as well.

The material is structured logically into three chapters. Chapter 1, **Urban Renewal and Citizen Participation** gives an overview of the evolution of the fusion between urban renewal and citizen participation in Western Europe and the USA with some of the most characteristic cases. The chapter gives an idea of the basic concepts, forms and terminology. Chapter 2, **Participatory Planning in Urban Renewal** provides ideas about different approaches and models of participatory planning used presently in the USA, as well as observation and conclusions about two recent cases of urban renewal participatory planning from Baltimore, the case of Canton and Sandtown-Winchester. The title of Chapter 3, **Possibilities for Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal in Bulgaria** speaks for itself. An attempt for defining general guidelines for citizen participation, based on the specific Bulgarian context, is made.

There is no doubt that with the accumulation of experience in this new aspect of Bulgarian social life, there will be a growing demand for theory. Eventually, things will come into their right places, e.g. scientists will deal with the subject, discussed here, from the prospective of social and political sciences. Altogether, as citizen participation happens to be more of a practice rather than a theory, a paper like this may have its modest contribution to the reality of everyday life.

1. URBAN RENEWAL AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

1.1. The experience of West European countries.

European experience in urban renewal of inner city areas has a much longer tradition than this of the USA. Due to the richer urban heritage of European cities, urban conservation and revitalization of city centers have always been of greater public concern in Europe than in the USA, where the conservationist movement has been preoccupied with saving the natural environment. The growing interest towards the historical heritage, neighborhood conservation and revitalization in the USA during the last two decades has been much influenced by the European experience. That is why a brief overview of Western European recent practice in urban renewal is a logical component in the structure of this writing. The overview is limited only to Western Europe, as active citizen participation in urban renewal, which is the focus of this study, did not exist in the former European socialist countries according to the understanding presented here.

The modern concept of urban renewal in Western Europe has its origin in the end of the 19th century (William Morris and the Society for Protection of Ancient Monuments in Britain), later in the period between the two world wars, and the restoration of the destroyed historical monuments after the World War II. The actual reconsideration of the attitude towards the heritage of the city begins in the early 60s and is chronologically marked by the adoption of the Dutch Monuments and Historical Buildings Act in 1961.

Three stages in the evolution of the concept and practice of urban renewal in Western Europe can be clearly defined despite the enormous diversity of cases and approaches used even within a single country. In its earliest stage, the period of the 60s, the concept of urban renewal is limited only to its physical aspects. The subject of interest evolves from the single building - monument to a territorial unit (in the Netherlands this is **beschermde stadts-en dorpsgezichten**, in Britain this is **conservation area**). The meaning of these terms is similar, the difference is mainly in the criteria concerning the value of the subject of urban renewal. It is important to mention that several European cities develop successful methodologies for urban revitalization which include active citizen participation in the early 60s. These methodologies are later widely used as models for urban renewal by other cities. For instance, the methodology developed by the government of Bologna recognizes the social aspects of renewal and preservation as decisive for the success of the urban renewal program. This is one of the earliest cases in which the city is treated as a complex socio-spatial system.

The second stage of the evolution of the urban renewal concept covers the period to the late 70s. The attention is focused on the social aspects, as a result of which the urban renewal planning process is generally decentralized and democratized. Citizen participation becomes an inseparable part of the practice of urban renewal. Through different forms of citizen participation citizen interests acquire priority. While the planning of urban renewal

in the 60s can be characterized as from "above", in the 70s it is predominantly from "below". This is a shift from one polarity to the other. In this early stage of the fusion of urban renewal and citizen participation, the latter is generally more conflict-oriented and in this respect, is less constructive.

The gradual accumulation of experience in citizen participation is reflected in the legislative systems of the different countries. Earliest this notion is treated in the British Civic Amenities Act from 1967 which requires the formation of advisory committees in the planning for conservation areas. In 1969 such an advisory committee (the Skeffington Committee) comes in an official report with the idea of planning participation, e.g. involvement of citizens or their representatives from the preliminary stages of the planning process to the actual implementation. The Skeffington Report emphasizes two methods which become later widely used in urban renewal with citizen participation throughout Europe. The first method, directed to the "actives", suggests the creation of a "community forum" to promote useful discussion between the local authorities and identifiable groups. For the "passives" the report recommends the engagement of a "community development officer" as a catalyst for expression of local opinion.

The physical aspects of the urban renewal concept in Western Europe evolve during the 70s as well. The conservationist approach becomes dominant. The object of preservation extends along the value and temporal scale. Parts of the city which do not have significant historic or architectural value, but contribute to the overall character of the urban tissue, are treated as equally important. The temporal limits of preservation extend practically to any time before the present. The culmination of this trend is reached in 1975, the Year of European Architectural Heritage, with the proclamation of the Chart for European Architectural Heritage. The conservationist approach has reached its summit. More often experts in the field express concerns that cities are losing their liveability and are gradually being converted into large museums.

If we consider the first two stages as thesis and antithesis, there is evidence that the third stage of the evolution of the urban renewal concept in Europe can be viewed as their synthesis. In the 80s, the tendency is towards combining the advantages of the centralized system of planning and management of the process, (e.g. long-term planning and setting of strategic goals accounting national and regional levels), with the advantages of a decentralized system of planning (e.g. a participatory process accounting the immediate and short-term interests of citizens). The essence of this tendency is precisely expressed in the motto of the "Town & Country Planning" magazine: **"The collaboration between citizens and professionals, central and local government, the public and private sectors is the key to urban renewal"**.

As far as the physical aspects of urban renewal are concerned, the tendency of the 80s is towards a more flexible, much broader and sensitive interference within the spatial structure of the city. A wide range of techniques covering restoration and conservation, rehabilitation and readaptation, and new development, are successfully used. This approach

recognizes that change is a law of life, but for the first time in the modern era human control can be effectively exercised over the inevitable changes. This control is subject to the aim to leave for posterity a better town or a city while in an optimum way serving the present.

The overview of West European experience in the field of urban renewal permits the following conclusions:

- Urban renewal is presently a central field of West European urban theory and practice
- The relative significance of this field becomes primary towards the late 70s. According to some experts the urban renewal problems will be decisive for European urbanism during the first decades of the next century.
- The mid-70s focus on the priority of social aspects of urban renewal. A compromise among the interests of the multiple sides in the process is sought. The immediate interests of the citizens become crucial. This tendency leads to decentralization and democratization of the planning and implementation process.
- Because of their extraordinary complexity, the urban renewal programs may be successful through coordination of actions and resources of all interested sides on local, regional and national level.
- Towards the end of the 80s, a similar in its structure and functioning management system of the urban renewal process is used in the different countries of Western Europe. It is based on the optimization of the balance between centralized and decentralized management, management from "above" with management from "below".
- The legislative system, on which urban renewal is based, is constantly refined and developed. Local legislature is especially important.
- A very flexible financial system is generally used. Financial resources are mobilized on national, regional and local levels. Urban revitalization is encouraged by suitable forms of financial aid and incentives, including tax measures.
- The planning process aims at the optimal fusion of long-term strategic planning with short-term local plan.

We may finally conclude that: Urban renewal in Western Europe presently is a broad concept for the dynamic adaptation of the existing socio-spatial urban structure according to the changing demands of life. This is a process of compromise among the interests of all involved sides on national, regional and local level.

1.1.1. The case of Bologna

The extensive urban renewal program for Bologna's historical core carried during the last 30 years deserves special interest, as it represents best the evolution of the contemporary urban renewal concept in Western Europe. Due to its success, a number of local governments in Italy and in other European countries use it as a model. Bologna's

methodology is successfully implemented in the cities of Ferrara, Modena, Chesena, Brescia.

Francesco Baradin states three important issues which characterize basically the case of Bologna:

1. The way in which the city plans and controls growth during the postwar period, that is, the renewal policy for the city center is in coordinated with the development of the metropolitan area.

2. The development of a unique decentralized and democratic system of decision-making, with the establishment of neighborhood councils which are not only advisory, but are an effective articulation of the municipal administration. 18 neighborhood councils are founded in the center of Bologna. The problems of urban renewal are primary in their activity since the 60s.

3. The formation of an original methodology for the renewal of the historic center, comprising two parts:

- a. criteria for the adaptation of historical building types according to the needs of modern life, while preserving the historical identity of the city core.

- b. the establishment of the principle that conservation and renewal also mean cultural conservation and renewal, achieved through protection of the interests of the low income original population and prevention of gentrification.

The second part of the methodology is backed by the adoption of local bylaws and the achievement of a compromise between the local government and the private landowners, approved by all political parties in Bologna. It appears a decade earlier than the wide acknowledgement of the concept of urban renewal as an entity of physical and social aspects.

The renovation of the historic center of Bologna still keeps the attention of specialists in the field of urban renewal. Recent publications show that three decades after the beginning of the program, its implementation is still in progress. The case of Bologna proves that to be successful urban renewal needs the combined efforts of citizens and administration, between the private and the public sector over a long time span.

1.1.2. The Black Road case

The urban renewal program in Black Road community, Macclesfield, England is much smaller than this of Bologna. And still, it is not less popular, as it best illustrates the power of citizen participation in urban renewal. The Black Road project was awarded the Grand Prix of the World Biennial of Architecture in Sofia, 1981. Under the guidance and consultancy of the community architect Rod Hockney, the citizens of Black Road voluntarily implement the renewal of a housing area from the 19th century, designated for clearance in 1968. The efforts of the citizens lead to attributing the legislative status of General Improvement Area (GIA) to the community. The local government provides the

initial financing and temporary lodging for the inhabitants. All design works are done by Rod Hockney. Often only consultancy is possible or needed. All construction and landscape works are carried voluntarily by the residents, organized in the Black Road Area Residents Association.

The case of Black Road proves that urban renewal is not simply a blueprint for the future, but rather a process, though not always a smooth one. Further, the Black Road and the Bologna cases in a different way clearly show that criteria for measuring the success of an urban renewal program take into account the value of creating and preserving physical and social environments.

1.2. Evolution of the modern concept of urban renewal in the USA.

The relationship urban renewal - citizen participation will be our stand point as well, while tracing the evolution of urban renewal in the USA. The modern concept of urban renewal in the USA has also evolved through three stages during the past three-and-a-half decades. Early US programs in the late 50s and early 60s stress on central city redevelopment and slum clearance. The goals of renewal are predominantly economic. The results of urban renewal together with public housing policy and highway construction appear to be disruptive, disorienting and destructive. Jeffrey Henig calls this period "a history of uncompensated costs". Widespread housing demolition, relocation of lower and middle-income inhabitants and gentrification are the social cost of the bulldozer-type urban renewal. "Clearance destroys not only housing but also a functioning social system the existence of which is not recognized by current relocation procedures." It is from this period that the meaning of the very term urban renewal in specialized literature is connected with clearance and new construction, irrespective of the existing urban structure.

The second stage, beginning in the late 60s, can be characterized by a growing sensitivity towards the existing physical and, more important, the existing social structure of the inner city territories. The Model Cities program focuses on rehabilitation, conservation and preservation issues. Resident influence over public plans is encouraged. The Model Cities program comes in 1966 with the idea to concentrate substantial funds on the worst neighborhoods in a few target cities. The projects aim at combining physical and social redevelopment. Residents are to play an active role in devising the program. An assumption behind Model Cities is that the physical environment is no longer a starting point. Each community, no matter how old or decaying on the outside, possesses unique and irreplaceable cultural and social values. At this point it is evident that the federal government would stop direct support of the construction of freeways and high-rise development at the expense of existing neighborhoods.

At the same time (late 60s and early 70s) new actors appear on the stage of urban renewal. Many large-scale projects (such is the case of the highway in the Inner Harbor of Baltimore) are blocked as a result of citizen actions. It is worth mentioning that this

newfound citizens power is not necessarily constructive. There are a number of cases in which citizen actions contribute further to fragmenting of the American city.

At least five groups of factors contribute to the considerable change of the approach toward urban renewal.

- **Economic.** The beginning of the 70s is marked by the unprecedented fuel crisis and slow down in growth rate. The Arab oil embargo helps focus public attention on the concept of nonrenewable resources and the importance of conservation. The material value of the existing housing and generally building stock appears out of a sudden considerable. Conservation and preservation acquire economic dimensions.

- **Cultural.** The age of modernism is gradually changed by the oncoming postmodernism. The architects, still ruling the realm of urbanism, have an important role in this process. The idea of contextualism, the respect to the historical heritage in much broader temporal limits become dominating. Urban renewal is more often seen as urban revitalization. It is important to mention that these processes slightly follow or are in parallel with the processes in Europe described in the former section. At the same time the approaching bicentennial celebration draws attention to the historical and cultural legacy of the cities.

- **Social.** This is the growing reaction towards the insensitive affect of the early urban renewal programs on large social strata. The resistance of neighborhood groups against freeways and encroaching commercial uses lead to changes in renewal legislation in the mid-60s. Later, the Housing and Community Development Act in 1974 encourages federal policy towards urban renewal as rehabilitation, but not demolition and new construction.

- **Demographic.** In the 70s, the postwar "baby boom" leads to a significant number of young professional couples, without children, who rediscover the city centers. The "back-to-the-city" movement generate a new term "gentrification", to denote the socioeconomic upgrading of the neighborhood as a result of the rehabilitation process.

- **Political.** It seems natural for the political system of a country largely based on democracy, such as the United States, to respond to the necessities for changes in the urban renewal policy with decentralization of the decision-making process. On a nation-wide scale this leads to the Community Development Block Grant Program approved by the Congress in 1974. Block grants are considered to be one answer of the shift to decentralized decision-making. Citizen participation which has strong traditions in policy-making in the USA becomes an essential factor for the success or failure of an urban renewal project.

Godschalk and Zeisel compare the first two stages of the evolution of the urban renewal concept in the USA as: decentralization vs. centralization, diversity vs. standardization, citizen control vs. government control.

The third stage, in which urban renewal in the USA has evolved, extends from the late

70s into the present days. As Godschalk and Zeisel point, the movement has been from action to reaction to interaction. Despite the enormous diversity presently in the approaches to urban renewal and despite the recent withdrawal of federal support to citizen participation, the last stage of the evolution can be viewed as a synthesis of the former two stages.

The fusion between urban renewal and citizen participation comes considerably earlier in the USA than in Europe. Citizen participation appears as a social phenomenon in North America as early as the 30s. It is generated by urban renewal problems, but soon it becomes an essential part of the decision-making process in all spheres of social life in the USA. Presently, citizen participation is not confined to the process of physical and social change but has expanded in many directions - in governmental fields, such as health, education, welfare, recreation, and the like.

This long and wide experience explains why the idea of coproduction is theoretically developed earlier by American social scientists. The American paper on the third symposium on urban renewal in Geneva, 1980, is one step "ahead" of its European counterparts. It comes with the notion of management of urban renewal from "above" and "below" and active citizens involvement at all stages of the process. The paper uses the example of Cincinnati as an illustration of this approach. The citizens of Cincinnati have direct access in the formation of the city budget. The officials, responsible for analyzing the budget, meet periodically with citizens groups to identify their needs and their priority interests before the actual elaboration of the budget. The work sessions of citizen groups take place prior to that, so that the neighborhoods are able to define clearly objectives and priorities. This is a case in which citizen participation can be described as coproduction.

There is another important trend in US urban renewal today. It refers to large scale commercial and entertainment redevelopment in downtowns and particularly the waterfronts in some cities. Citizen participation is not the key point of such schemes, though it contributes to the success of the programs. In spite of that, this tendency is indirectly related to the main issue of this paper. Large commercial and entertainment renewal plays important role in enhancing the identity of the city and the feeling of belonging of residents to their place. This contributes to the revitalization and stabilization of adjacent neighborhoods. Such is the case of Fells Point and Canton adjacent to downtown, Baltimore.

This tendency could be characterized as a two-step process. Large private reinvestment in revitalization follows public policies of the recent past, e.g. about 15-20 years ago. Present public policies exert an influence on private reinvestment decisions through the allocation of public services, the location of public facilities, and the manipulation of tax incentives and subsidies. (The development of the waterfront in the Inner Harbor, Baltimore, adjacent to Canton, is possible because of acquisition of land property by the municipality for an abandoned freeway project. Presently, through tax incentives the city government is trying to mobilize private developers to continue the revitalization of the

waterfront.)

Several other innovative examples from the late 70s and early 80s may illustrate this trend. The basic strategy here is renovating parts of the original central business district and reviving it with retail trade. Numerous shops, restaurants, entertainment facilities, in some cases hotels attract not only tourists, but become a favorite place for citizens as well. Dilapidated areas turn into viable spaces and effective revenue source. A widely known example is the renewal of Quincy market, along with Faneuil Hall, in Boston. Opened in 1976, this is the first of a series of festival marketplaces developed by the Rouse company. Other convincing examples of similar value are the renovation of Union Railway Station in Washington and the Gallery Mall in Philadelphia.

Some authors criticize this trend as a recent continuation of the earlier mode of public urban renewal by private investment. "Find the developer first, and then see what interests him" is the applied rule of thumb. To be realistic, we have to acknowledge that in a society as the American, based largely on the private initiative, this is inevitable. The case of Inner Harbor, Baltimore, shows that the public-sector role is not that much "overlooked". The conscience of decision-makers, the governmental structure at the city council (the Planning Commission and the Department of Planning) and its policy in the last decade balances the two sides: private developers' sector and the city interests and the interests of neighborhood communities and their citizens. We shall return to this point in the second chapter when discussing the case of Canton, Baltimore.

We may draw the following conclusions from the overview of American experience in urban renewal during the last three-and-a-half decades:

- The tendency of the evolution of the urban renewal concept and practice is towards a more sensitive approach to the existing urban structure, to the recognition of physical and social aspects as a whole.
- Though similar to the general tendency in Europe, this is not so clear and steady process in the USA. The back-to-the city movement weakens during the 80s. Presently, there is a continuous digression of the inner cities in the USA, accompanied by concentration of poverty and crime.
- Citizen participation is a phenomenon with traditions in all spheres of American urban culture. Its importance for the success of urban renewal programs is recognized earlier than in Europe. Yet, this is not prevailing in urban revitalization today, especially after the withdrawal of federal support for citizen participation in the 80s.
- The power of the private sector, the high dynamics of American urban culture, and the vast scales of inner city redevelopment do not permit broad and direct citizen involvement in all stages of the process. Other techniques of public control are used on all levels of planning and implementation to achieve balance among all involved interests.
- Citizen participation is crucial for the preservation of neighborhoods and has an indisputable importance today in all small scale urban renewal programs.

1.2.1. The case of Virginia Park, Detroit

Among the numerous cases described in literature we have selected an early case of urban renewal in Virginia Park, Detroit. It does not have the international significance or fame of Bologna and Black Road, but it is very illustrative of how early the fusion of urban renewal and citizen participation takes place in the USA. The Virginia Park Project (mid-60s) is an example of slum prevention through neighborhood conservation and rehabilitation of structures.

Virginia Park is an area of 500 acres with 40000 inhabitants close to the CBD. The formulation of the Virginia Park Citizen Rehabilitation Committee by residents is preceded by an active program of self-organization aimed at physical improvement of the area. A second organization is founded for the purposes of the renewal program. This is the Virginia Park Citizens Service Corporation which serves as a "watch dog" of citizen interests. Both VPCRC and VPCSC are separate from the local public agency. They serve not only as mediators, but as active participants in the planning and implementation process. Despite delays in the approval process, the cooperation of the two citizen organizations and the city lead to wide citizen involvement which itself results in the apparent acceptance of the project by the residents. We shall describe in more detail the method of achieving cooperation between the local authority and the residents.

The formation of VPCSC is the result of a contract between the city and the citizens. The 21 members of the corporation are elected by the citizens and paid together with a planning consultant by funds of the contract. The Service Corporation is responsible for:

- Carrying out community organizational activities in the project area and encouraging the residents to become interested in participating in planning and carrying out the project.
- Communicating to the local planning agency (LPA) the recommendations of project area residents with respect to:
 - criteria and rating techniques for the eligibility surveys;
 - planning, social and economic objectives of Urban Renewal Plan;
 - physical planning proposals for the area;
 - delineation of rehabilitation standards;
 - rehabilitation survey techniques;
- Making independent recommendations to the LPA concerning all phases of project activities.
- Reporting to the LPA, on a monthly basis, on its activities; furnish the LPA with copies of all its reports and other documents referring to the project; meet on a regular basis with the LPA's Project Manager and the Detroit Housing Commission

Under the terms of the contract, the city is responsible for:

- Discussing all phases of planning and carrying out the project with duly designated

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Under the terms of the contract, the city is responsible for:

- Discussing all phases of planning and carrying out the project with duly designated representatives of the contractor.
- Provide office space, equipment and the services of clerical staff for the use of the contractor.

As noted above, the Virginia Park case is an ingenuous, successful example of coproduction. In the late 60s, when the Skeffington Report suggest methods for participatory planning in Britain, the renewal program of Virginia Park implements in practice the basic assumptions of urban renewal with citizen participation.

1.3. Citizen participation, basic concepts, forms, terminology

Citizen participation is a descriptive in itself term. The implied continuation is ... in the decision-making, planning and implementation process. This seemingly easy to understand explanation is important, as there is no equivalent term for citizen participation in the Bulgarian language. Such a social phenomenon did not exist in former communist Bulgaria, a highly centralized, totalitarian society. This explains the absence of the basic vocabulary regarding citizen participation. The following section is a brief introduction into the conceptual and terminology apparatus.

1.3.1. Citizen participation, basic concepts

Fundamentally the existence or absence of citizen participation comes from the basic philosophical concept on which a society is build. Two basic concepts about the relationship society - individual coexist in the contemporary world. They can be described as the economo-statistical and the socio-anthropological. The first one existed in almost pure form in the former communist countries. It gives priority to the interests of the society, seen itself as an abstract totality of equalized members - statistical units. This theory is convenient for a highly centralized economic and political system. The individual interests are recognized as average statistic needs for resources. These needs are characterized by a centralized system of norms. In Bulgarian communist society, largely based on the economo-statistical concept, human needs were measured in quantitative rather than qualitative terms. For this reason, the term "quality of life" was not used. Its equivalent was the "standard of living" measured in metric unites per capita of the population. There is no place for expression

of individual or group interests in a system of total statistical equality. This means that there is no social space for processes similar to active citizen participation.

The second concept, the socio-anthropological, is the basis of modern democracies. It recognizes the interests of individuals as human beings, the diversified interests of groups of individuals, and the interest of the community as a whole. That is why, democratic theory establishes as a normative guidepost the goal that all legitimate interests be accorded reasonable consideration in the governmental decision making process. Quality of life is the basic and final criterion for measuring the success of any urban policy. The active expression of individual and group interests leads naturally to the idea of participation of citizens in the decision-making process.

1.3.2. Forms of citizen participation

In its early stage citizen involvement in urban renewal processes emerges as a reaction towards threats on the immediate interests of the community or particular citizen groups and is known as citizens action. It lasts usually as long as citizens interests are in danger. Susskind and Eliot examine three patterns of citizen participation and action:

- **Paternalism** (in which municipal decision making is highly centralized and advice giving by citizens is either discouraged or closely managed by government officials)
- **Conflict** (in which centralized decision making is dominant but resident and consumer groups struggle openly to wrest control over certain decisions)
- **Coproduct** (in which decisions are made through face-to-face negotiation between decision makers and those residents claiming a major stake in particular decisions).

Currently, these patterns coexist in different proportions in each individual case. They can be considered as the three subsequent stages of an evolution process. The examination of European and US experience in urban renewal from the last 35 years shows that high productivity in this field tends to be linked with high levels of cooperation between residents and government.

Citizens participation has numerous forms. According to an issue of the Federal Regional Council there are four basic mechanisms required more often than others. These are advisory boards, planning boards with clearly defined authority, use of public materials to secure public comment, and public meetings and hearings. A short description of each of them follows.

The **advisory committees** and the **planning boards** represent the interests of a group or groups of citizens. The process of selecting the participants varies for the different programs, but the general idea is for broadest representation of all possible points of view. Advisory boards may influence policy decisions but actually do not make them. The

advisory groups have the option to make suggestions, comments on proposals or assist decision making. The advisory groups themselves usually need professional assistance to generate valid recommendations.

Planning boards generally exercise greater authority. This authority may extend to the status of approving or disapproving proposals within the assigned area. Legislature and regulations give clear provisions about the way in which this authority is exercised. Planning can be either a sole or one of several functions of a planning board. Another function could be the very implementation of the program.

Securing **public comment through published materials** is another important tool for citizens' involvement in the decision making process. For instance, the Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) program, an important standard of which is citizen participation, requires publishing of plan summaries. A whole set of channels for communication is used usually to achieve this goal: TV news, newspaper news, mailings, hotline telephone, etc. The idea is not only to inform citizens but to attract their interest and response.

Public comment requires effective communication. That is why an important aspect, regarding citizen participation, is developing a common language of communication. We can generally define the two sides of communication as professionals and nonprofessionals. Politicians, planners, experts in all fields, related to planning, pertain to the first group. Citizens form the second group. The technocratic approach, characteristic of the early stages of urban renewal, did not allow communication with citizens. Planning became a highly sophisticated activity with its own language and terminology. This converted it into an abstraction separated from everyday life and reality. Such is the case which exists in present Bulgaria. Despite the process of democratization in, the lack of communication between professionals and non-professionals is still a major problem in decision making. Urban renewal makes no exception.

The experience of the USA and Western Europe show two major ways of improving communication between the two sides involved in the process.

- **Firstly**, through education. The assumption is to raise the ability of ordinary citizens to deal with professional terms and matters. The educational trend tends to be idealistic and for this reason it is easily underestimated. Its practical results are not immediate but its importance from our standpoint is indisputable. It is worth to mention the contribution of Christopher Alexander* to this trend. The series of books and experiments on the development of a Pattern Language and a New Theory of Urban Design are fundamental achievement in making the issues of urbanism comprehensible for all people.

- **Secondly**, through professionals representing citizen interests. In many cases citizens groups delegate rights of presentation to professionals. The experience of the Netherlands deserves special interest. Professionals assisting community groups are paid by the

government and frequently have to oppose the decisions of the government in protection of the citizens rights.

The problem of development of a common language is directly related to the fourth major technique for citizen participation - **public meetings, informal and official hearings**. This is an important way for exchange of ideas, information and considerations concerning the planning process and a basic procedure in American government. This technique itself has multiple forms. Some of them are: "open door policy" providing accessibility of officials to the citizenry; office meetings; meetings with Community Organizations, informal briefings and discussions of priorities, goals, programs, budget etc. Brief descriptions of these forms are given in the next section.

1.3.3. Citizen participation, terminology

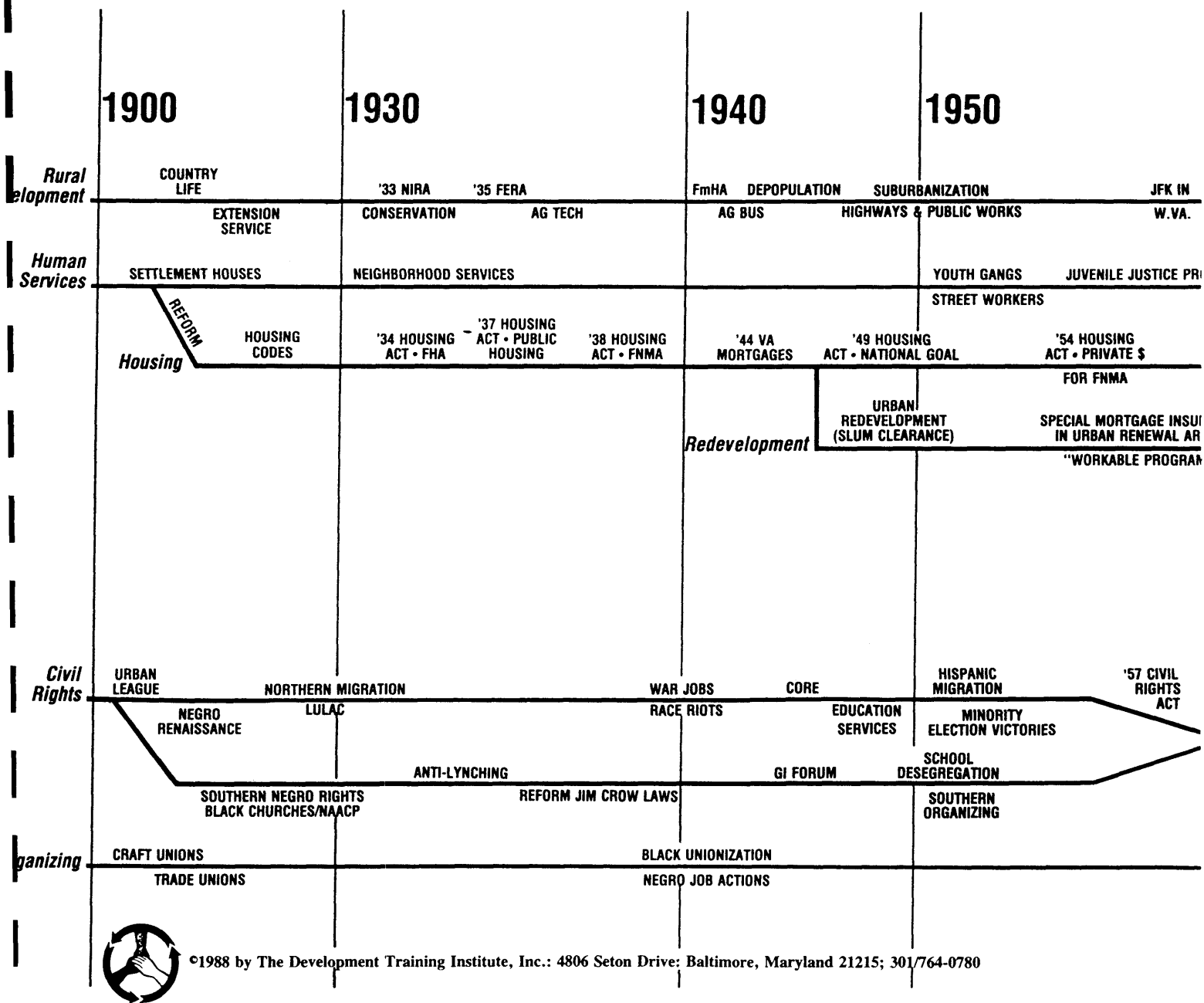
Citizens participation did not exist in former communist Bulgaria. That is the reason why this paper will provide introduction not only into the basic concepts but also into the terminology apparatus. As citizen participation has in practice infinite concrete forms, it is impossible to define a complete list of terms. It is highly possible that the future practice in Bulgaria will lead to terminology compatible with the language and local circumstances. That is why, we shall limit our presentation here to some of the basic definitions used in the American practice. The source of this information is the December 1975 issue of the "Public Management" magazine enriched with terms derived from more recent literature. Appendix A gives an alphabetical glossary of terms related with citizen participation.

1.4. Legislative aspects of citizen participation in urban renewal

The appearance of citizen participation comes as a result of the evolution of the democratic society. In the USA its roots can be traced back to the 30's in the Chicago Area Project. In his extensive survey "Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal", Albert Rose states that early forms of citizen participation in urban programs exist in Canada in the beginning of the century and by 1939 Toronto has more than 20 years of experience.

The legislative aspects of the problem are of primary significance. They themselves are a vast field of investigation. We shall confine to a brief historical overview and the basic structure of US legislature concerning citizen participation in urban renewal. The time-line diagram (fig 1) gives an idea about the history of community development policy and the corresponding legislative acts in the US.

The rules of the "urban renewal game" in the US are stipulated in legislature on a federal, state and local level. The federal level governs the process in most general terms and establishes the general trends of the federal policy. The state and local levels become



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fig. 1 HISTORY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN THE US

HISTORY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN THE US

1960

1970

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT | OEDP REQUIRED | '65 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMIN. | DEVELOPMENT DISTRICTS | OEO: RURAL HOUSING | STATE PROGRAMS | |
| '62 ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS ACT | AG INDUSTRY | INDUSTRIAL ATTRACTION & FACILITIES | | MIGRANT PROGRAMS | LOCATION | COMPETITION |
| | WAR ON POVERTY | | | MODEL CITIES | | |
| | '64 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT | "MAXIMUM FEASIBLE PARTICIPATION" | '67 GREEN AMEND | EXPANDED / EMPLOYMENT & TRAINING | | |
| '61 HOUSING ACT BELOW MARKET INTEREST | '64 HOUSING ACT | '65 HOUSING ACT RENT SUPPLEMENT | | '68 HOUSING ACT MAJOR \$ INCREASE; | NON-PROFIT HOUSING SPONSORS | |
| PUBLIC HOUSING SUBSIDY | REHAB. MODERATE AREAS | LEASED HOUSING | | MORTGAGE SUBSIDIES; FNMA PRIVATE; GNMA | \$ 202 | COUNSELING |
| '61 RELOCATION BENEFITS | '64 REHAB | H.U.D. CREATED | | NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM: PAC GROUPS | EDA URBAN | |
| PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING | CODE ENFORCEMENT | | | "NEW COMMUNITIES" | MODEL CITIES COUNCILS | |
| CDCs FORD FND. | OEO: CDC DEMONSTRATION | '66 EOA VII - CDCs | | SPECIAL USE OF OTHER FED. PROGRAMS | | |
| GRAY AREAS PROGRAM | FORD FND: CDCs | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| JFK AFFIRMATIVE ACTION | '64 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT | | | AFFIRMATIVE ACTION | MINORITY BANKS, BUSINESS LOANS, SET ASIDES | |
| NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZING | | RACIAL SENSITIVITY & AWARENESS | | BLACK POWER | COMMUNITY CONTROL | CHICANO MOVEMENT LA RAZA |
| | | | | | | |
| | COMMUNITY ORGANIZING | NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION | | ORGANIZING ON COMMUNITY ISSUES, PROGRAMS & PARTICIPATION | | |
| | UAW - ALINSKY - CAAs | COMMUNITY ACTION | FARM LABOR ORGANIZING | CONSUMER MOVEMENT WOMEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS | | NOW + NATIONAL WOMAN POLITICAL CA |

RIOTS

VIETNAM WAR

1980

| | | | | | | |
|---|------------------|---|---|-------------------------|--|--|
| IN BELT DEVELOPMENT | | FmHA EXPANSION | PLANNING FUNDS CUT | | FARM SUBSIDY | RESOURCE ECONOMY CRISIS |
| STATE LOCATION SUBSIDIES | | | "MAIN STREETS" | | | FARM COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION |
| 2 INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMS | | '76 LEAA | NEW IMMIGRANTS | FEDERAL | ECO DEV & HOUSING BY SERVICE AGENCIES & | |
| DISMEMBERING OEO(CSA) | | BLOCK GRANTS (CSBG) | JTPA REPLACES CETA | CUTS | CONSTITUENCY GROUPS | |
| CETA CONSOLIDATES MANPOWER PROGRAMS | | | FEDERAL CUTS (80%) | HOUSING PARTNERSHIPS | NATIONAL HOUSING TASK FORCE | |
| '74 HOUSING ACT: SECTION 8 | | '78 HOUSING ACT TARGETING REFORM | NON-PROFIT DEVELOPERS | | MCKINNEY HOMELESS ASSISTANCE | |
| '74 CDBG CONSOLIDATION | | UDAG CDBG TARGETING | EDA STOPS LOANS (GUARANTEES OK) DROP CDBG REVIEW LOCAL DESIGN | | '86 LIHTC | '88 UDAG ENDED • REPAYMENT |
| NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS | | NEIGH SELF-HELP DEV | CDC GRANTS COMPETITIVE NSHD ENDED | | NEIGH. DEVELOPMENT DEMONSTRATION ACT | |
| NHS EXPERIMENT | | NEIGH REINVESTMENT CORP | NHS DIVERSIFICATION | | NHSA & LISC SECONDARY MARKETS | |
| Neighborhood Revitalization | NEIGH STRATEGIES | | INTERMEDIARIES LISC • ENTERPRISE • DTI | | PRIVATE & LOCAL-STATE GOV'T RESOURCES | |
| | '75 HMDA | '76 CRA '77 NATIONAL COMMISSION ON NEIGHBORHOODS | BANK CDCS CD CREDIT UNIONS | | '87 HMDA PERMANENT | CRA IN BANK POWERS BILL |
| OMBE-MESBICS | | CONSOLIDATED MBDO | SBA GUARANTEES | | | |
| FIVE AMERICAN MOV'T | | BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS | BLACK CHURCH OUTREACH | | "UNDERCLASS ISSUE" | |
| ETHNICS & "OUTER RING" NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZING | | "RED LINING" | DECLINE IN ORGANIZING SUPPORT | CITY WIDE COALITIONS | CRA PROTESTS | REVIVAL OF FUNDING INTEREST IN ORGANIZING |
| ANTI-WAR PROTESTS | | '76 ECOA ERA | ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT | | CONSTITUENCY ORGANIZING | |

more specific and provide flexibility of the legislative response to the specific and unique local social and physical context.

The question of "citizen participation in urban renewal" emerges strongly in Canada, following the 1949 amendments to the National Housing Act; and in the United States with the National Housing Act of 1949. Actually, the National Housing Act of 1949 is the first important document predefining the trends in urban renewal after the World War II. Title I of the Act permits municipalities to condemn parcels of land and then to buy these parcels for the purpose of clearing slums. Title I thus assumed that urban renewal starts with slum clearance, that is, recognition of the "bulldozer" approach on a federal level. The Housing Act of 1949 states that local citizen participation in an urban renewal program is a prerequisite for federal approval. Most of the communities in the country interpret this to mean that a citywide committee of leading citizens and business leaders should be appointed to advise the local urban renewal agency.

In 1954 a new Housing Act is passed to provide for the possible conservation and rehabilitation of the buildings on the site. This trend is further developed in the revisions of the Housing Act in the 60s and 70s.

Towards the end of the 60s all programs of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) such as Model Cities, Urban Renewal, Neighborhood Facilities, Public Housing, Neighborhood Development Program and the Community Renewal Program include citizen participation as a major component. All programs require that citizen groups have access to the decision-making process, be provided timely and sufficient information and have available professional and technical assistance.

2. PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN URBAN RENEWAL

In this chapter we shall examine in greater depth the fusion between citizen participation and urban renewal. We shall overview the decision-making and implementation process in urban renewal. For this reason we shall incorporate the general idea that the decision-making process consists of actors working within a set of rules to defend certain stakes or to get rewards by influencing the actions of governmental officials.

2.1. Major actors in the field of urban renewal.

By and large, there are two major groups of actors in the urban renewal game - governmental and nongovernmental.

The governmental actors are different for the different cities and naturally they differ in time. The governmental actors for the city of New York in the 60s, for example, are the Housing and Redevelopment Board (HRB), consisting of a chairman and two members appointed by Mayor; the City Planning Commission (CPC), consisting of a chairman and six members appointed by the Mayor; the Board of Estimate (BE) consisting of the Mayor, the Comptroller, the President of the City Council and the five Borough Presidents; the Housing and the Home Finance Agency (HHFA), consisting of an Administrator appointed by the Mayor.

The nongovernmental actors in the urban renewal game also vary in place and time. Most important are the neighborhood groups (citizen groups). Some of them are formed with the specific purpose of playing a part in urban renewal. In the Virginia Park case in Detroit such are the Virginia Park Citizen Rehabilitation Committee and the Virginia Park Citizens Service Corporation.

Nongovernmental actors are also members of occupational groups such as bankers, real estate men, developers, builders, architects. Many of these groups are strategically placed to influence the nature of the renewal program.

A third part of the nongovernmental actors are citywide groups involved in urban renewal because of their ideological orientation or because some particular project affects their interests. In New York such are the Citizens Housing and Planning Council (CHPC), the Community Service Society, the Citizen Union, the labor unions.

Finally, the massmedia, particularly the city's newspapers and the local TV, also play an important role in the urban renewal game.

Ron Thomas gives the following list of actors in the urban decision-making process:

Public Sector

Mayor
City
City Manager
Commissions
Boards
City Agencies
City Departments
Councils of Governm.
State Agencies
Federal Programs

Private Sector

Developers
Council Bankers
Corporations
Local Business
Economic Consultants
Engineering Consult.
Planning Consultants
Urban Design Consult.
Architects
Landscape Architects
Interior Designers
Communication Consult.

Nonprofit Sector

Neighborhood Organizations
Public Interest Groups
Development Corporations
Preservation Groups
Community Organizations
Design Centers
Arts Organizations
Service Organizations
Foundations
Universities
Environmental Organizations

All these actors influence in a different way, directly or indirectly the shaping of our cities. They interact (or do not interact) in a different way in the process of planning and implementation. According to the role, the three different groups play in the process of planning, we differentiate between traditional (technocratic) and participatory planning.

2.2. Citizen participation in the planning process for urban renewal

Planning is a basic city function today and covers all issues of the complex city life. Urban renewal is undoubtedly one of the most complicated arenas for planning.

There are numerous definitions of planning. According to Bernie Jones "planning is systematically thinking through a situation in order to come with a better decision." Aleshire gives the following four definitions of planning:

- "Planning is a logical and continuing process of rational decision-making based on unbiased and genuine quest for unknown answer"
- "An arena for issue-oriented intergroup combat in which the best answer is the view of the winning group or coalition of groups."
- "A justification for decisions already made or implied by conditions or constraints."
- "A process by which immediate pressure for action can be forestalled, until other participants in the decision-making process have time to act."

The idea of coproduction in urban renewal with citizen participation fits closest to a combined version of the first two definitions. The purpose of citizen participation is to influence government decisions affecting citizens lives and improving government efficiency on all levels. Citizen participation is a way to mobilize resources which residents represent themselves, knowledge, information, creativity, commitment, energy, an important factor in conditions of scarce resources that presently are usual for majority of city programs.

Three approaches to the planning process can be generally defined:

- **Linear planning process - traditional planning**
- **Conflict resolution model**
- **Citizen participation model**

We shall give next a brief resume of the structure, interaction and the principles of these three approaches.

2.2.1. The traditional, linear process of planning

The traditional linear planning process includes four stages: preparation of the plan; announcement of the plan; defense of the plan; implementation. (fig. 2)

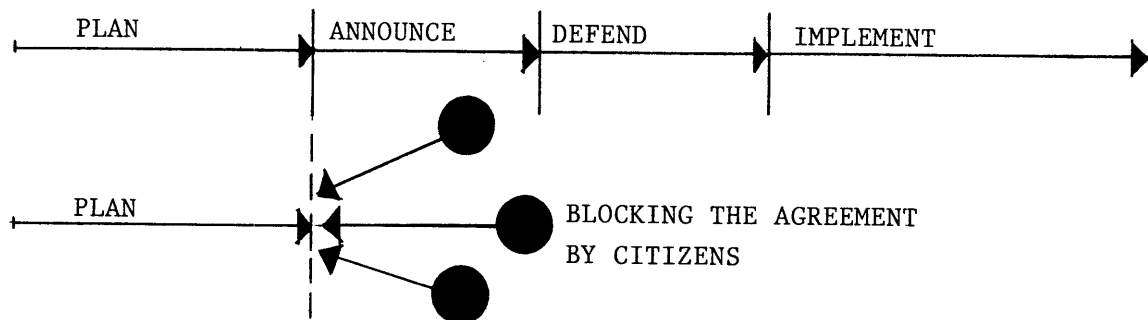


fig. 2

Presently, the technocratic approach to planning in Bulgaria perfectly fits this model. The contact of citizens with the planning process, if any, happens at the third stage. In a democratic society, usually the expressed attitude of citizens takes the form of citizen action (reaction) and is aimed at opposing the plan. In a former totalitarian society, such as the Bulgarian, the plan needs only formal defense and is restricted to routine formal procedures.

The traditional planning process is still widely used, within the USA included. It is based on the following principles:

- Keeping the plan in secrecy from the opposition
- Limitation of the time of organizing
- Providing multiple supporters of the official version
- Limitation of information dissemination
- Creation of several obviously unacceptable options ("green hounds")

The practice of traditional planning shows that there is time-efficiency in the first three stages, but the actual implementation is time-consuming and usually not complete. In terms of social effect, the planning process is unsuccessful. It contains in its very nature the

following crisis-causing factors:

- Little time to react is left to the citizens, which causes high level of uncertainty
- The restricted information contributes to the atmosphere of distrust and uncertainty
- The narrowed options mean actually no realistic options for citizens.
- The escalating stakes lead to a "natural" reaction and opposition among citizens.

The comparison between the time diagrams of the traditional planning approach and this, with citizen participation, (fig.3) shows that while the former "saves" time from the actual planning, the latter prepares the conditions for successful and time-efficient implementation,

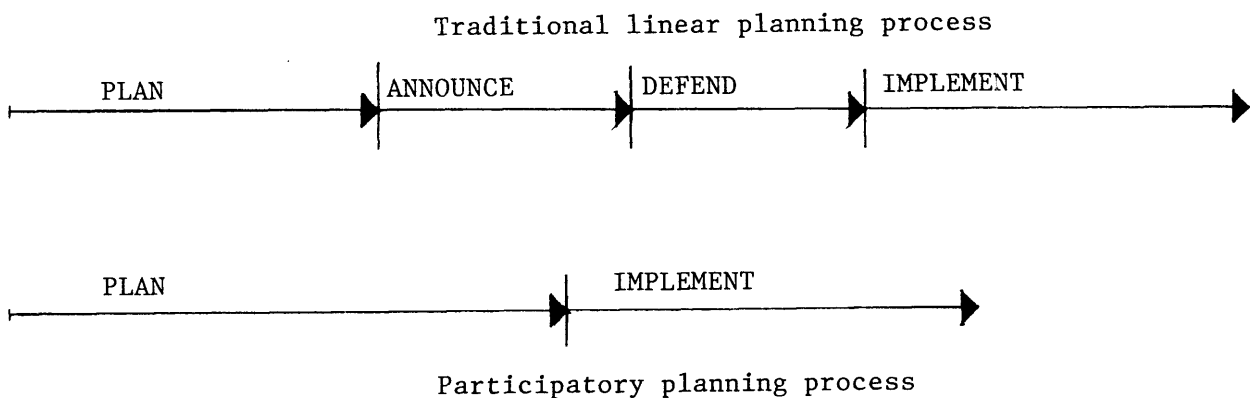


fig. 3

The case of planning for the community of Canton, Baltimore clearly shows the results and costs of a linear approach of planning.

2.2.2. Conflict resolution and citizen participation

The conflict resolution model has some close to the linear planning process characteristics. Both processes can be described as "planning from above". In the conflict-resolution model, it is the government (local government) which defines the process and it is the government that controls the information flow. That is, it is the government which sets the game and its rules. (fig. 4)

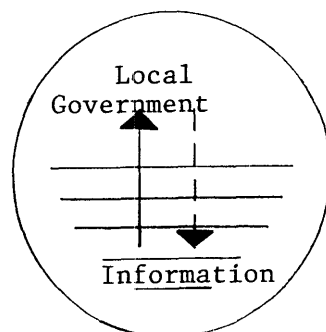


fig. 4

The major differences of the conflict resolution model from the traditional planning model are: there is a two-way information flow; citizen participation is inclusive. The latter means that at least a small part of planning is with citizen involvement, a major feature of citizen participation, which makes it work.

Figure 5 graphically describes the traditional conflict resolution process.

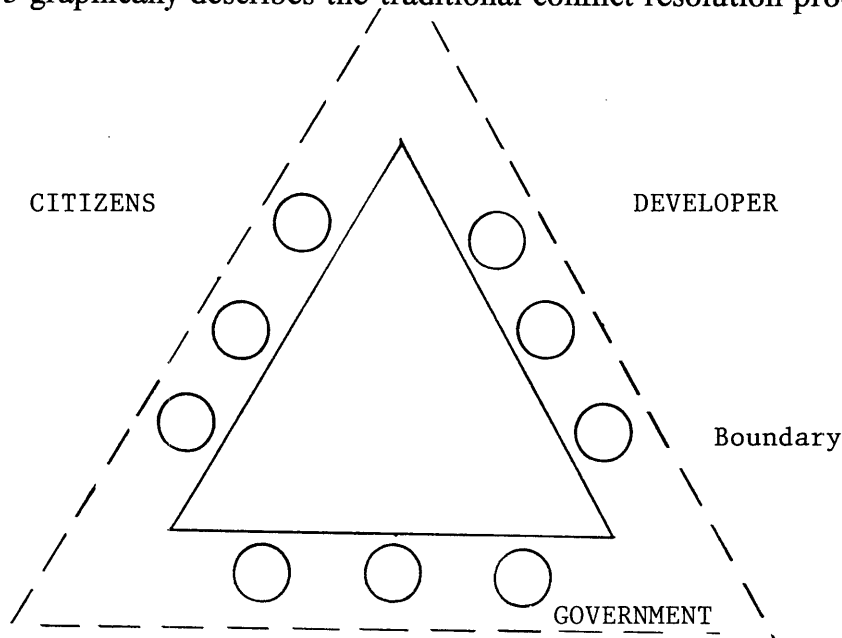


fig. 5

The traditional process of mediation is a process of negotiation for agreement among several sides. The presented diagram simplifies the number of these sides to three: the local government; the developer; the citizens. In real circumstances (for instance, see the Sandtown-Winchester project) the involved interests are as a rule multiple. Often, the very definition of the involved sides takes more time than the negotiation process itself, that is talks about talks (who sits on which side of the table) may take longest time.

The following principles are valid for the traditional conflict resolution process:

- It is a closed door process
- It is an exclusive process, it is an elite which takes the decisions
- It is a multiway communication process
- It is a shared decision-making process

The involved sides in the negotiation process are accountable to different institutions. Despite this, lots of people remain not presented and not involved. The closed door is a

precondition of high level of uncertainty and a possibility of a break down in the system.

Compared to the traditional linear planning process, the conflict resolution model has considerable advantages. Its major improvement is that it is a shared decision-making process. It empowers to the people sitting on the table and in many cases this means a balanced representation of involved interests. The model can be very successful in reality. Altogether, when forces are polarized, it could lead to break down and split in the process.

A positive example of the conflict resolution model is the city of San Antonio. Attached to geographical districts, citizens associations, such as C.O.P.S. (communities organized for public services) have played an increasing role during the past 20 years in the decision-making process and particularly in the designation of CDBG funds (Community Development Block Grants). As a result a number of housing and renewal projects have been successfully realized.

2.2.3. The citizen participation model

The citizen participation model of planning is a collaborative (coproductive) process. It is based on the following principles:

- Participation in the process is inclusive (everybody who wants may participate)
- Stakeholders are involved at an earliest stage
- Participants take part in a "real" decision-making process, e.g. they are not confined to mere consultancy
- The process is educational. The different perspectives included in the process lead to the formation of new "joint" knowledge

A major characteristic of the collaborative process is that decisions are reached by consensus. The model accepts diversity of multiple interests and different knowledge of participants. Thus, the process thus necessarily leads to the exploration and testing of multiple options. An important part of the total time for the planning process is spent on creating ideas. The generation of ideas based on different perspectives and knowledge leads to viable and rich solutions. The very process of generating ideas and negotiating is a process of reaching an agreement between all involved parties. We can observe the concrete implementation of such a model in the above-described case of renewal in Bologna and in some cases of urban renewal in Holland, in particular, in Rotterdam. Finally, the process of reaching consensus implies multiple levels of participation. This is a fundamental and critical principle for the success of the method. Participation is inherent from the very beginning to the very end of the process.

The concrete versions of the participatory planning model are numerous. The following diagrams show three basic possible variants:

● **The steering committee & task groups participatory model**

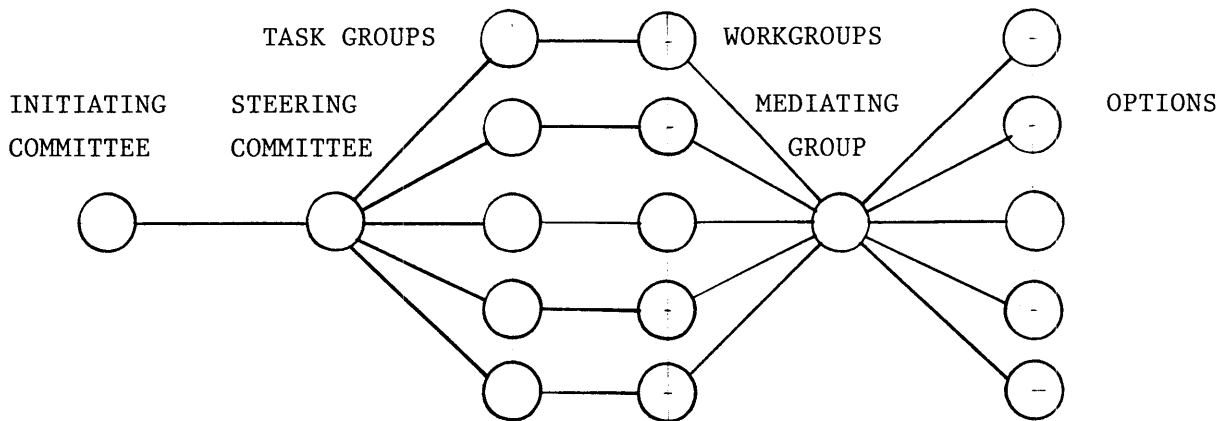


fig.6

This is a model which is often very effective. It is used in the planning process of the Sandtown - Winchester project in Baltimore, which will be described later. The basic elements of the structure are :

- The initiative committee which comes with a general idea
- A steering committee which coordinates the planning process on all levels
- A task force or usually task forces which necessarily include at least one representative from the steering committee
- Working groups which elaborate a definite piece of the issue
- A group which mediates the issue and manages the process

The process is open. As a result of the evolving understanding and identifying of the problem(s) new task forces and working groups may be formed. Multiple options are being tested according to evaluation criteria. The process is reported to town or community meetings. The model implies creation of a constructive environment with involving greater number of people.

● **The task force & public participation model**

This model follows a linear step-by-step pattern at an early stage of which public needs, attitudes, opinions are surveyed and used as basic information, public "input". The planning process is open at all stages for the public, that is the public is constantly informed about the planning development. The planning process is "subject" to the public reaction on public hearings, meetings, charettes, and other forums.

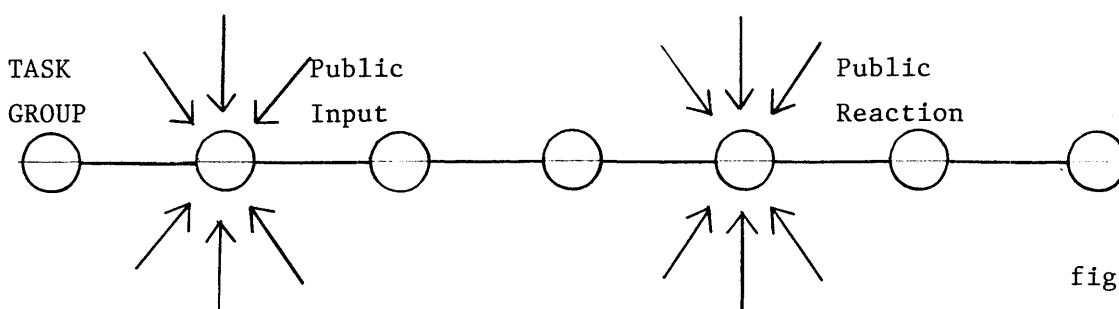


fig. 7

● The conference & task group model

A third model features a large conference that convenes interested citizens around a community problem. The conference is followed by task group work and later by additional conferences. This model enables many more people to be involved in the program. The conferences serve to identify issues, for exchange of information, for gathering suggestions for alternative solutions. This is the basis for organizing working groups which report the result of their work to a second conference held usually six to twelve months later. If needed, the conference suggests future directions of the programs. New task or work groups can be formed. Additional conferences can be further held.

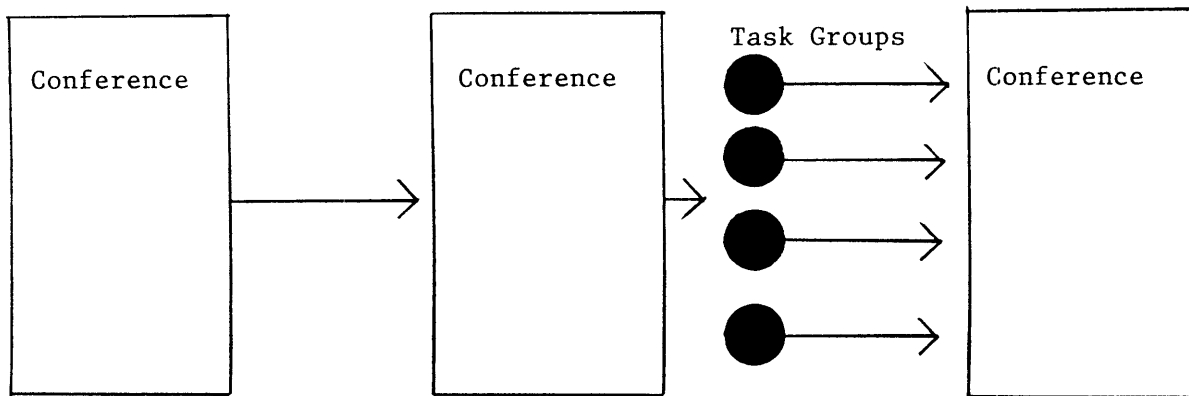


fig. 8

Participatory planning is still not dominant even in the United States, despite its longest tradition in participation. What is more it is almost entirely unknown in some states. Citizen participation and its meaning for planning have mostly qualitative effect. That is why, the question about planning with or without citizen participation becomes increasingly important and is largely treated in specialized literature. In Appendix A we give the standpoints for or against citizen participation in planning from a theoretical work by Robert Aleshire "Planning and Citizen Participation: Costs, Benefits and Approaches", considered classics on this issue.

The practice of urban renewal in Western Europe and North America knows many cases in which urban renewal with citizen participation is not successful. Obviously, the fusion between urban renewal and citizen participation is a long evolution process. Citizen participation could be quite clear as a theoretical concept but its implementation in practice is more of an art. It frequently depends not only on theoretical knowledge and skills, but on very subtle relationships among individuals from both sides of the planning process. Even if the legislative and financial framework and the overall objective conditions are tuned to participatory planning, cultural, psychological and even emotional factors can prove

decisive for the final success of citizen participation.

2.3. The case of Canton, Baltimore

The case of Canton is interesting for the purpose of this research, as it shows a technique for involvement of citizens in the planning process, which may be applicable in Bulgaria. This is namely the role of the district planner as a mediator of interests of the involved sides in the process.

The Canton waterfront along Boston Street is an important territory adjacent to Downtown, Baltimore. (fig.9) Situated to the east of Fells Point (where successful revitalization is continuing), Canton is undergoing dramatic changes. Land and buildings, once occupied by factories and shipping activities, are being converted to residential, retail, office, and pleasure boating uses. At the same time, the Canton industrialized area to the east continues to thrive and grow.

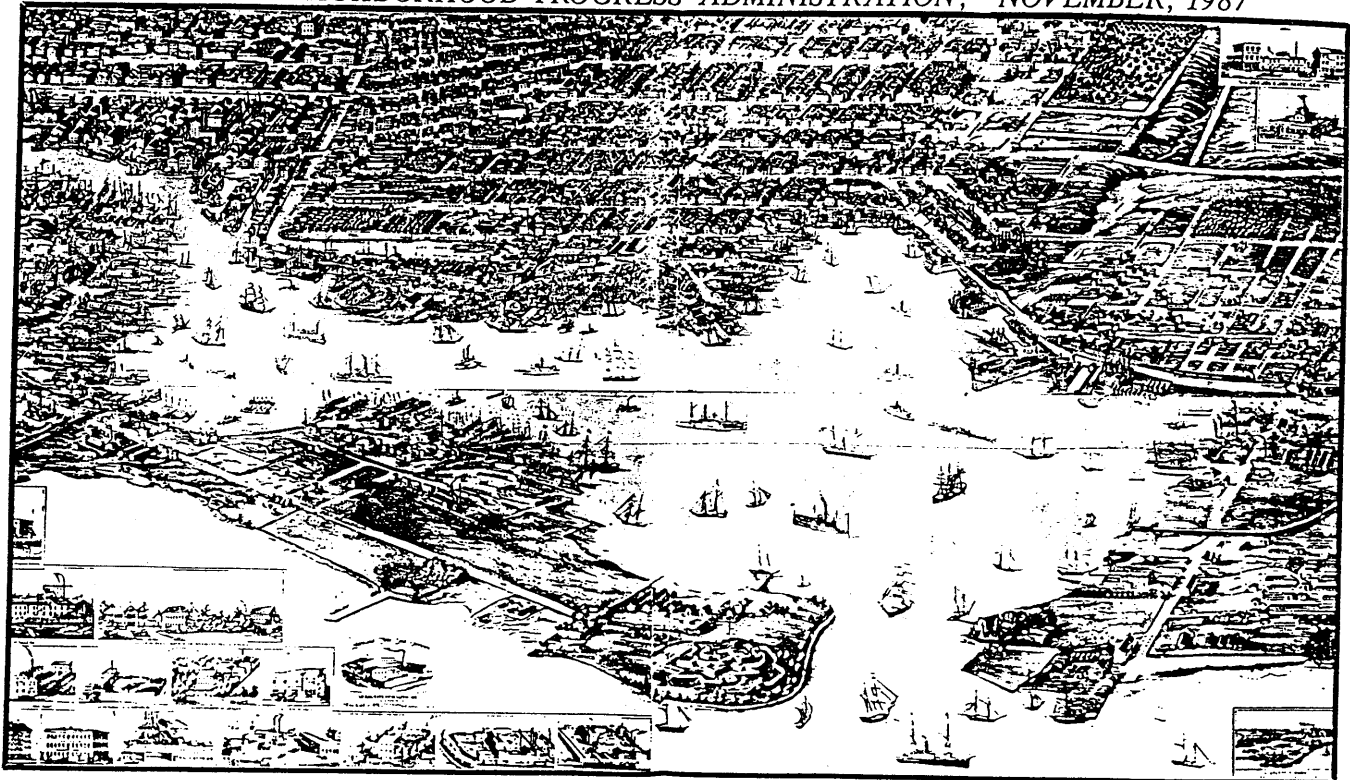
On June the 5th, 1984, the Mayor and the City Council approve the Urban Renewal Plan (fig.10), prepared by the Department of the Housing and Community Development. The opinion of the communities adjacent to the project territory is not taken into consideration. The plan is aimed to attract large private developers on the waterfront strip of land. The land is owned by the municipality, as a result of an abandoned policy to build a freeway along the waterfront in the early 70s. The desire of the City Council is to continue the Urban Renaissance, already begun in the Inner Harbor and Fells Point, to the south-east. The plan is a quick reaction of the City Government, in a typical technocratic approach, to the development boom of the early 80s.

One of the weak points of the plan is that it is prepared for without publicity. The plan contains a potential conflict between the city and the neighborhood. Some of the changes, which come as a consequence of the plan, are beyond its scope. These are generally changes of destabilization of the adjacent to the north neighborhoods which are traditionally stable. The lack of information about the new development on the waterfront combined with the traditional suspicion for the policy of large private investment among citizens can result in migration of residents and the decline of the neighborhoods. The beginning of such process is observed after the adoption of the plan.

Having realized this threat, two district planners from the Department of Planning of the City of Baltimore, Christopher Ryer and Laura Feinberg begin work as mediators for the next three years between the official side - the city government, represented by the Department of Planning and the endangered neighborhoods, represented by the Community Improvement Association. The main goal of the two city planners is to stimulate public review and discussion before formal recommendations are made for the adoption of amendments to the Canton Waterfront Urban Renewal Plan.

CANTON GUIDE PLAN

*A COOPERATIVE EFFORT BETWEEN THE BALTIMORE CITY DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING
AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION; NOVEMBER, 1987*



FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES

fig. 10 Guide Plan accompanying the efforts of the city planners to involve the citizens of Canton

The activity of the two district planners include:

- Disseminating information about the Canton Project among citizens
- Providing feedback information, e.g informing the Department of Planning about the opinions of citizens.
- Attending the regular meetings with citizen representatives
- Elaboration of the Canton Guide Plan, a cooperative effort with the Neighborhood Progress Administration.
- Participating in the revision and amendment to the original Urban Renewal Plan.

According to Christopher Ryer, the new revised edition of the plan is the result of a participatory planning process, invoked by the two district planner. The amendment to the plan is only the formal expression of a process of citizen involvement. The three-year long process of collaboration between officials and citizens leads to important changes in the collective conscience of the neighborhood. The attitude of disapproval and suspicion for the project is changed gradually to the development of sense of possessing power and control in the decision-making process among citizens.

The very implementation of such participatory process is possible because of the traditions of the Department of Planning of the City of Baltimore. The post of district planner has been a unique feature in the structure of the department for more than twenty years. The involvement of citizens in the planning process is not obligatory for the district planner. It comes as a result of the understanding of the planning process by the district planners themselves. According to Christopher Ryer, his efforts to involve citizens in the Canton Urban Renewal Project are result of:

- The peculiarity of the position of the district planner - the district planner is the representative of the planning authority with special knowledge about the physical and social context of a particular location. The district planner is a mediator between the abstract interests of the city and the concrete interests of residents. Through the activity of the district planner, planning ceases to be abstraction and becomes adaptable to reality, the most important part of which are the local residents.

- The essentials of the profession of a city planner. For Christopher Ryer, the mediating with citizens is a matter of professionalism in a "profession which is more than a hundred years old."

The case of Canton helps us to draw an important lesson. The unique post of a district (or community) planner is the key for the successful involvement of citizens. The planner is attached geographically to a particular neighborhood. This gives to the planner a real perception of the processes within the community. The process of citizen participation in this case cannot be measured directly. The practical result is the refinement of the original plan. There is another important effect which is purely psychological. Achieving trust in people is the main objective of the community planners in Canton. "Information

gives power" is the community planner's formulation of one of the essentials of citizen participation. Information provided to citizens about the planning process and information from citizens about their interests and opinions converts a technocratic planning process into a process of coproduction.

2.4. The case of Sandtown - Winchester, Baltimore

Sandtown Winchester is a 72-square block area in West Baltimore. It is bounded by North Avenue, Lafayette Avenue, Pennsylvania and Fermont Avenues. (fig.11) Originally this community with a population of approximately 12000 people is strongly deteriorated. There are many vacant, boarded properties; high unemployment; there is a substantial number of female-headed households below the poverty level.

Sandtown Winchester becomes one of the two communities which are a part of the Nehemiah program. The Nehemiah Housing Program is a program under which Baltimore applies in 1989 to the federal government for funding for a major housing development in West Baltimore.

The Sandtown Winchester Project represents from its beginning an approach different from the technocratic approach that was characteristic for the original Canton Urban Renewal Project. Citizen participation is inherent part of the planning process. It is possible as a result of an idea derived by Mayor Schmoke at that time from his visit to the city of Kiryat Gat in Israel. It is where Mayor Schmoke is impressed with the idea of a self-maintaining, self-sufficient community. (Israel has one of the longest and strongest traditions in urban renewal with citizen participation.) The planning process has been named - "Community Building in Partnership". The partnership is between the city and the local community. In reality it is a complex relationship among multiple actors. They include state and city government officials and institutions, (Baltimore City, Maryland State and U.S. Departments of Housing and Community Development); public and private developers (The Enterprise Nehemiah Development, Inc., Strewvers, Eckel & Rouse Company); the planning agency (the Sandtown-Winchester Task Force); the community organization (Sandtown-Winchester Improvement Association Inc.).

The planning process is community driven. Broad-based community participation is actively sought by the Sandtown-Winchester Task Force to involve residents and others in every aspect of the planning process. The Task Force is convened by the Mayor in January 1990 with the mission: "To develop a plan and recommend programs which will raise the quality of life for the local residents with a goal of social and physical renewal." It is considered that only with personal commitment to the process of planning and implementation residents can take charge of their neighborhoods, their lives and their future.

The Task Force is composed of community residents, key officials in the Mayor's office, representatives from the Enterprise Foundation, Baltimore United in Leadership

Development (BUILD), the Baltimore Urban League and other city agencies. The Mayor gives the Task Force the following 6 point charge:

1. Develop an outline for a needs and capacity assessment that can be reviewed by the community and become the second stage of detailed planning;
2. Design the second stage of the planning process integrating physical development and social services planning, including broad goals for the community. The goal must be defined and specific objectives developed and endorsed by the residents through a community charette;
3. Recommend how to involve and expand the participation of City, state and federal government agencies, private sector professionals and community representatives in the second stage of planning and throughout the course of the renewal process
4. Recommend of a governance structure and management model to guide the renewal process;
5. Develop a budget for program operation of the renewal process and identification of sources of support including the City, The Enterprise Foundation, other foundations, state and federal government and the private sector
6. Draft of a compact for the City, the community, and The Enterprise Foundation, which defines roles and responsibilities for the undertaking of a three-to-five year program of physical and social renewal

After several months of work the Task Force determines that the community building in partnership process will have three phases:

The first phase "community planning process" involves neighborhood residents in assessing needs and capacities, defining a vision and goals, and suggesting ways of expanding the involvement of stakeholders. This phase is carried out over a 12-month period from May 1990 to May 1991.

The second phase which starts in 1991, involves designing programs that integrate physical development and social service delivery. Additionally, participants in the first phase recognize the need for residents to see things happening in Sandtown-Winchester to maintain momentum and interest. Therefore, several activities identified as "immediate action" items are to be carried during this phase, such as: creating a community newspaper, initiation of a citizen inspection program, etc.

The third phase is the development and start up of a management\governance structure within Sandtown-Winchester to carry out activities defined in "the report".

A fundamental assumption for the Sandtown-Winchester project is an undertaking of this size requires that the residents be involved in a very meaningful way. The beginning of this process is marked by a large public meeting led by Mayor Schmoke at Gilmor Elementary School. Some 400 residents attend this day-long meeting that include small break-out groups charged with "dreaming" a possible future for Sandtown-Winchester. Other public meetings are held by SWIA (Sandtown-Winchester Improvement Association) and BUILD to further resident involvement. Input from the public meetings helps shape subsequent components of the community planning process. The Task Force devises a community planning process with the following basic components: **needs and capacities assessment; community organizing and leadership development; the workgroup process.**

The information gathered from the community-wide meeting and subsequent organizing helps the Task Force design eight functional workgroups. Workgroups are organized in the following areas:

- Physical development
- Community Economic Development/ Employment Development
- Health Care
- Education
- Family Support Services
- Substance Abuse
- Crime and Safety
- Community Pride and Spirit

Each workshop is composed of community residents and resource persons from the public and the private sector. Each group is also professionally staffed. The Task Force manages the workgroup process over a seven month period, involving approximately 150 residents and resource persons in the various workshops. In addition to the numerous public meetings and continuous recruitment of community residents, the Task Force organizes a special one and a half day "charette" in May 1991 to give the community the opportunity to review the workgroups' recommendations. More than 150 people attended and reviewed and validated the recommendations while offering a number of new ideas and concrete suggestions.

Towards the end of 1991 about 300 low-income family housing units are completed. The project is still going on, but the initial results clearly show that the case of Sandtown-Winchester presents the successful use of many citizen participation concepts and techniques. It is a typical case of coproduction between the local government and the

community. The planning approach comes close to the steering committee & task forces planning model described earlier.

2.5. Current condition of citizen participation in urban renewal in the USA

It is difficult to generalize a single and clear trend in a diverse and heterogenous culture, such as the American. While in the 60s and 70s, citizen participation was encouraged in federal programs, this is not the case in the 80s. While in some states and cities citizen participation has become an inherent part of the urban culture (such are St.Paul, Baltimore, San Antonio) in others it is simply unknown social phenomenon (such is the state of Indiana). There is apparent withdrawal of theoretic interest towards citizen participation, as well. Citizen participation turns out not to be the panacea capable to solve the serious multiple problems of American cities in the 80s.

The National Conference on Citizen Participation 1992 organized by the Lincoln Filene Center of the Tufts University (held April 24th - 26th in St.Paul) gives an impression about the present condition of citizen participation in general, and urban renewal with citizen participation in particular. The results of the first two years of a five-year survey in five cities were reported. The conclusion was that in cities like St.Paul and San Antonio citizen participation and self government have reached mature stage and practically the city and community problems are solved with collaborative efforts between local government and citizens.

Among the many reported cases particularly interesting are two:

- On a city level - the experience of St.Paul
- On institutional and individual level - the experience of Community Design Exchange and its leader Ron Thomas

2.5.1. Citizen Participation Planning Districts in St.Paul, Minnesota

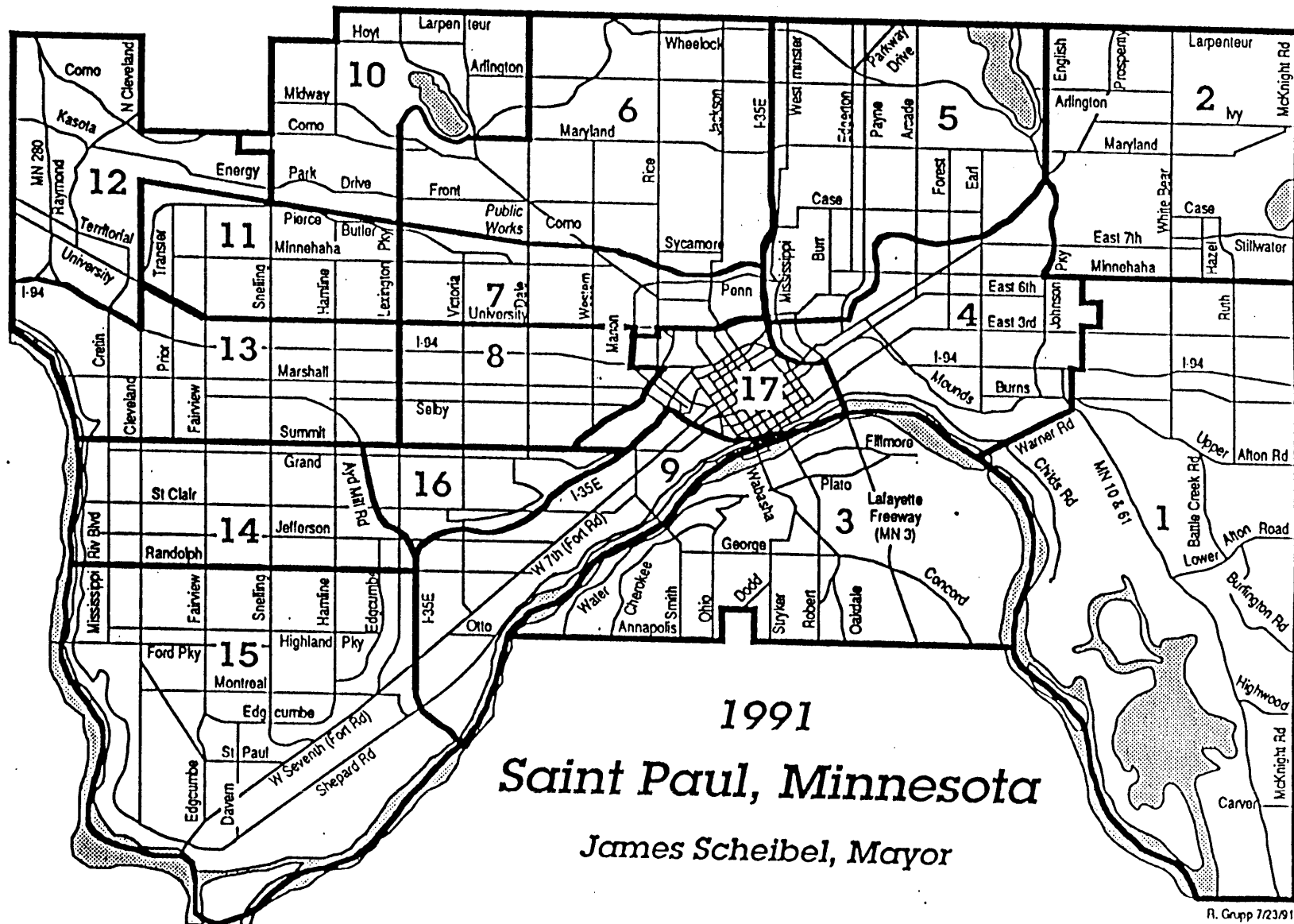
The City of St.Paul establishes a city-wide citizen participation process by City Council Resolution in October 1975. Seventeen citizen districts are established. (fig.12) District lines are drawn by neighborhood, by a task force of representatives from the city's neighborhoods. District populations range from 7000 to 25500. Each district has a council selected at yearly district elections. The number of citizens on each of the district councils is determined by the district council bylaws. The average number is 15.

Each neighborhood council plans and advises on the physical, economic, and social development of its district, as well as on city wide issues. In addition, these neighborhood groups identify neighborhood needs, initiate neighborhood programs to meet these needs,

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION PLANNING DISTRICTS

- 1 Battle Creek
292-7828
- 2 Greater East Side
731-6842
- 3 West Side
293-1708
- 4 Dayton's Bluff
772-2075
- 5 Payne-Phalen
774-5234
- 6 North End
488-4485
- 7 Thomas-Dale
298-5068
- 8 Summit-University
228-1855
- 9 West Seventh
298-5599
- 10 Como
644-3889
- 11 Hamline-Midway
646-1986
- 12 St. Anthony
292-7884
- 13 Lexington-Hamline
645-3207
Merriam Park
645-6087
Snelling-Hamline
644-1085
- 14 Macalester-Groveland
698-7973
- 15 Highland
690-0866
- 16 Summit Hill
222-1222
- 17 Downtown
221-0488

Fig. 12 Citizen Participation Planning Districts in St. Paul



and recruit volunteers when needed by these programs.

The City has also established by resolution an Early Notification System that requires city departments to notify a list of district councils, neighborhood organizations and residents of pending city actions that will affect them. This ENS list is maintained by the Citizen Participation Coordinator. The City has one staff member who serves as Community Organizer. Each district has a staff person designated as Community Organizer.

The experience of the City of St. Paul shows one possible form of participatory process extended to a basic form of governing. It is important to notice that the establishment of a city-wide participatory structure has been initiated from "above". This proves that citizen participation is a matter of choice as any policy, and not only a spontaneous self-governing process.

For comparison, the City of San Antonio has also established community districts, but they are independent of any structure of the local government. This is a proof that the actual form of participatory process is specific, attached to the local circumstances. Despite the differences, in both cities the process works. In St. Paul it is normally a process of coproduction, in San Antonio it ranges from conflict to compromise, but there is the awareness on both official and community side for the recognition and respect for the other.

2.5.2. Community Design Exchange

While the former examples illustrate the present condition of citizen participation on highest level, that of the American city, the activity of Community Design Exchange shows the importance of the participatory model on professional level. The experience of CDE and personally of its founder Ron Thomas hold important message for urban planners and designers.

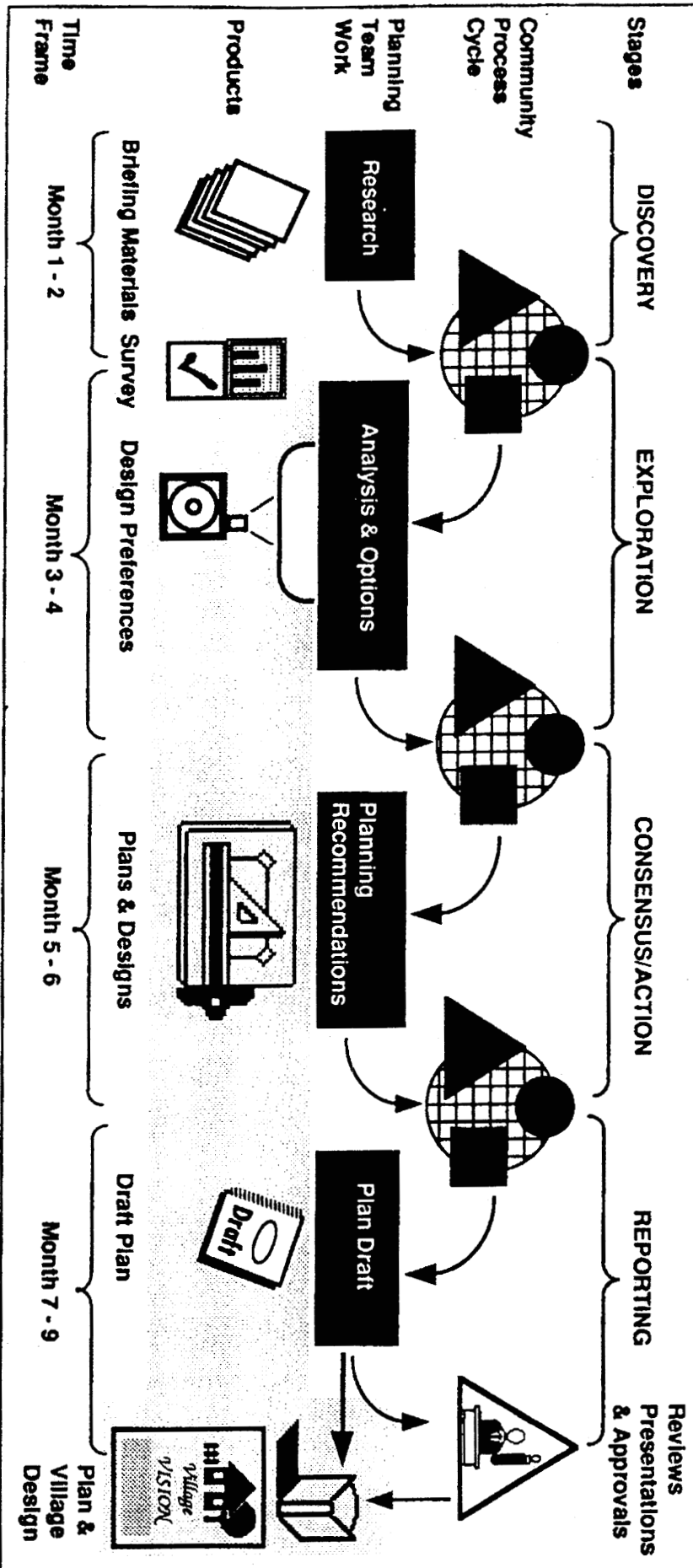
CDE's is a non-profit corporation, based in Seattle. Its mission is seen not as the traditional type of designer, but as a facilitator, an information source and educator. Its primary concern is to bridge the gaps between the professional experts, officials and grass root interests. CDE seeks to transform potential conflict into collaboration and find new solutions between differing points of view. The corporation fosters consensus across social, economic and ethnic lines through a process of public communication and process management assistance.

As the process of communication is of primary importance, Ron Thomas and CDE have developed a whole system of visual communication helping the process. Diagrams 1,2 and 3 show this approach generally and for two concrete projects.

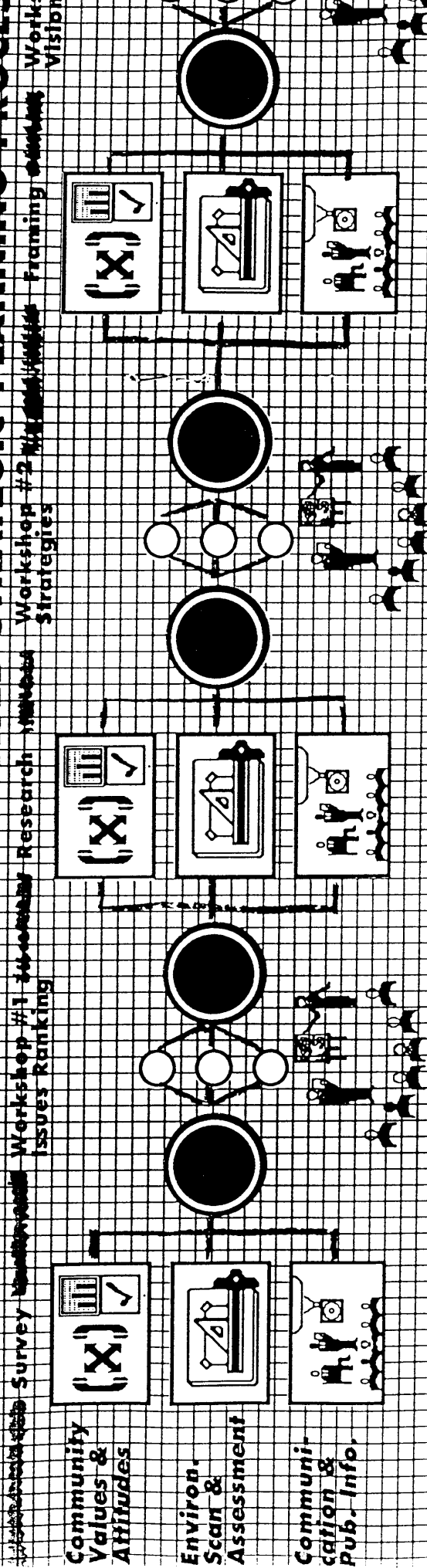
THE STEPS

- 1. Discovery**
 - Define the problem; assess the issues. (What do we need to solve?)
 - Consider trends & outside forces. (What's standing in our way?)
 - Create a common community Vision. (What do we want our future to be?)
- 2. Exploration**
 - Explore model solutions (What's possible?)
 - Consider optimum plans for Kingston (What do we want?)
 - Prioritize choices (How do we decide?)
- 3. Action Decision**
 - Commit to selected plan choices
 - Organize to implement the plan
 - Take first step actions

COMMUNITY-BASED DESIGN & PLANNING PROCESS



TYPICAL CITIZEN-BASED STRATEGIC PLANNING PROCESS



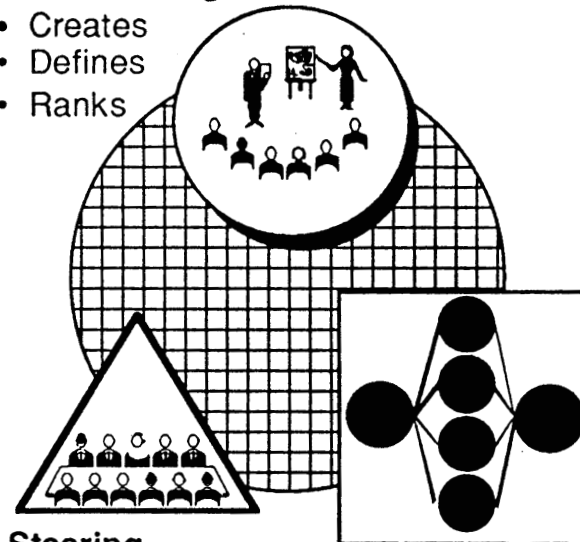
Kingston Planning Goals

- To control our own planning destiny in regards to how we preserve our essential community values and direct appropriate future development
- To create a vision for Kingston that is strong, compelling and achievable
- To evaluate & negotiate outside impacts on our community with regional and state agencies such as the port and ferry system.
- To work as a co-partner with the county in developing a growth management plan for Kingston including establishing the Urban Growth Boundary.
- To create a people-oriented village design concept for the port of Kingston supported by adopted design guidelines and a possible new village overlay district for the county plan.
- Organize and develop community capacity to champion, support and sustain plan implementation.

Kingston Planning Process Organization

Town Meeting

- Creates
- Defines
- Ranks



Steering Committee

- Organizes
- Selects
- Acts

Citizen Task Forces

- Organizes
- Studies

Kingston Planning Team

Community Design Exchange-
Ron Thomas
 Community-Based Planning & Management
Davidya Kasperzyk, AIA
 Urban Design & land Use Planning
SvR Engineers - Peg Staeheli
 Infrastructure, Planning Analysis
TDA, Inc.- Bill Egar
 Traffic Planners
Property Counselors - Ben Frerichs
 Economics & Public Financing
Virginia Benson Company
 Community Facilitation & Housing

3. POSSIBILITIES FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN URBAN RENEWAL IN BULGARIA

3.1. A brief historic overview of urban patterns in Bulgaria

I shall briefly overview the history of modern urban patterns of large and medium-size cities in Bulgaria. This is important for the understanding of the present condition of urban renewal and the system of urban planning in Bulgaria.

Despite its location in Europe, Bulgarian newest history is relatively short, its beginning marked by the Liberation in 1878 from the 500 year-long Turkish rule. Despite their ancient origin the present large and medium-large Bulgarian cities have grown to their present shape in the last 100 years. The physical structure of Bulgarian large and medium-large cities reflects the two major periods of Bulgarian newest history - the period of early and developing capitalism (1878 - 1944) and the period of socialism (1944 - 1989).

3.1.1. Urban structure of large and medium size Bulgarian cities in the period of capitalism 1878-1944

After the Liberation in 1878 the major Bulgarian cities are restructured and regulated according to the rules of European urban planning. Urban plans are made by hired Austrian, Czech, German and Russian engineers. The plans convert the existing network of urban spaces into a regulated system of main and secondary streets, squares and gardens. As there is no significant building legacy from the period of Turkish rule (with few exceptions) the centers of the cities are quickly built with row houses. The major public buildings, such as the municipality, schools, banks, a theater, are located around the main squares. The architectural styles resemble Central European architecture of this period. The ground floors accommodate shops, pubs, restaurant, crafts and workshops, while the upper one or two stories are residential. The suburbs are occupied by the newly emerging working class. The houses are built without any regulations. They are one-story, selfmade, with very poor construction and lack of sanitation and running water. The newly emerged and fast growing industrial quarters are located in the outskirts in proximity with the water and raw material sources. As the period of capitalism is historically very short, it does not reach high accumulation of wealth. Only the very centers of several cities achieve formally the appearance of small European cities. In smaller towns, this European-like appearance is to be observed only along the main square and street or even portions of it.

The physical structure of the cities mirror the social structure. The new bourgeoisie occupies the central parts where families rival to demonstrate prosperity and thus achieve prestige and recognition. The suburbs are inhabited by the working class people constantly fed by the migrations from the nearby villages. The limits between the two parts are not sharp. There is more or less gradual transition from the luxurious center to the suburbs

inhabited by the emerging middle class. In the scales of Bulgarian cities this could frequently mean a couple of blocks or even a few houses.

3.1.2. Urban structure of large and medium-size Bulgarian cities during the period of socialism (1944-1989)

The spatial structure of Bulgarian large and medium-size cities during the period of socialism can be described with a generalized model of the socialist city. It comprises of the following clearly outlined zones:

- historic core
- inner city areas from the period of capitalism
- new city center
- areas of socialist reconstruction
- new residential areas
- industrial zones
- suburban holiday areas

According to the principle for correspondence between the physical and social structures of the urban system presently Bulgarian cities mirror the social and political structure of socialism as a concept and as a reality. The most important prospective for the social structure was the class structure. As socialism is conceived as a dictatorship of proletariat, the political system worked towards the complete dominance of the working class. It was considered that the socialist society comprises of two nonantagonist classes - working class and peasants. The socialist intelligentsia was considered to be a special social group (not class) serving the interests of the working class and the communist party. The official tendency of the evolution of the social structure under socialism was towards a totally homogenized society of equal members (the people) in which the difference between workers, peasants and intellectuals would gradually and progressively disappear. Thus the last Labor Code (1987-1988) treats all members of society as "workers".

Beyond this very simplified official version of the social structure under socialism there was the actual social structure. It is not scientifically studied and this will be inevitably one of the future fields of the social sciences. Yet, my empirical experience permits me to argue that the actual social structure was more diverse than the officially acknowledged and included at least the party plutocracy and the vast bureaucratic apparatus.

Socially the socialist society is highly homogenous. The totalitarian system strived at achieving uniformity which is reflected in the urban spatial structure. Uniformity and order are the major features of the newly built residential microregions.

The overall spatial structure of the city reflects the highly centralized political structure of the Bulgarian society under socialism. The renewal (known as socialist

reconstruction) operations of the city centers which took largely place during the 60s used the bulldozer approach. The cleared sites were converted into prestigious marble squares and include as a rule the Party Home, subordinated to it, the City Hall, and the quarters of some administrative institutions. The adjacent inner city territories continued to be the most viable city areas and still play the most important part in the accommodation of administration, services and residential functions. It is here where gradually through piece-by-piece process old housing stock was changed by apartment buildings (cooperations). The new residential districts with industrialized housing appear earliest in the cleared sites of the former slums in the 50s and then spread on the closest to the city free territories. These residential districts strictly implement the theory of the microregion, a simplified version of the modernist townplanning. Uniformity in a highly hierarchical spatial structure represent the idea of the desired total equality.

3.2. The urban renewal problem in Bulgaria

Due to the historical background the first two zones described in 4.2.1. overlap in Bulgarian cities. This is due to the fact that the legacy from Antiquity and the Middle Ages is scarce and is usually a part of the underground cultural layers. The heritage from the short period of capitalism provides the overall character of the city centers and represents today the major problem for urban renewal in terms of its physical aspects. The areas of socialist reconstruction and the new residential districts are according to our opinion another, still hidden but vast in its scales urban renewal problem.

3.2.1. Physical aspects

The problem of urban renewal can be defined as the discrepancy between physical conditions (spatial, functional, constructional, technical etc.) and standards. This discrepancy is constantly increasing due to deterioration or change in standards. Such a definition of the physical problem of urban renewal corresponds to the definition of urban renewal as a concept and a process we gave in the beginning of this paper.

As stated earlier, the period of capitalism in Bulgaria was short, but even shorter were the times of growth in which actual construction took place. Thus the center of Russe which has the largest and most valuable heritage was built in the last decade of the 19th and shortly after the beginning of this century. The life expectancy of the buildings and the infrastructure (sewage, piping) according to their structure (brick walls, Prussian vaults and plaster for buildings and ceramic and lead pipes for the infrastructure) is about 100 years. This means that currently the entire building and infrastructure stock has entered the period of its selfcollapsing. A mere observation along the central streets of the five major cities - Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Russe and Bourgas gives ample proof to this statement.

The areas of socialist reconstruction (former outskirts from the period of capitalism)

and the new residential zones (microregions) for similar reason will soon represent the same, but incomparably larger in its scales problem. These parts were built in a very short period to satisfy the vast housing needs caused by socialist urbanization (Bulgaria has one of the highest rates of urban growth in Europe, increasing its urban population from less than 30% to more than 70% in the last 40 years). The structure (primarily large concrete panels) is suggested for 100 year life expectancy, but due to the low quality of technical performance and inability for maintenance, the first generation of the new socialist industrialized housing is entering its critical stage of existence. There are no official surveys but according to expert suggestions the actual life expectancy of this housing stock must be accepted as no more than 50 years.

The physical urban renewal problem will further grow as a discrepancy caused by the rising standards. According to the economo-statistical concept used as a basis for the socialist society, the actual standards were comparatively low verging on the lower limit of basic human needs. It must be expected that in an era of free enterprise, in which Bulgaria currently enters the standards will quickly increase in comparison with the socialist standards.

3.2.2. Social aspects

As socialist society was conceived as an antipode of the capitalist society, it represents different social problems and some of them are mirror-like to these in the capitalist societies.

Opposed to gentrification, the socialist city created a reciprocal problem. Soon after the socialist revolution legalized expropriation took place and in practice any property above certain minimum imposed by the Law of Property (recently 120 sq.m. per household e.g 1200 sq. feet) was expropriated. The luxurious once bourgeois houses which formed the central city were as a rule taken by the government and managed by the socialist state housing agency - Zhilfond (Housing Fund). The houses were rented to the new city dwellers for symbolical rents, sometimes dozen of new citizens families accommodated in a single two-or-three story house. The absence of a real owner doomed the housing stock to a perpetual decay. My observation is that as a result the majority of the former wealthy families were destroyed or degraded.

The communist variant of early urban renewal led to destruction in the existing urban social structure. Some social groups (the bourgeoisie and the new upper middle and middle class) were separated from their property. This became property without clear title. The inability of the new tenants and the state housing agency Zilfond to maintain the housing stock enhanced its dilapidation.

Currently the problem of restitution in Bulgaria is of major priority. The idea is that all property will be returned to its original owners. It is expected that the process will be

largely completed towards 1995. Altogether this will not solve the discrepancy between the social and the physical structure of the city. Some of the owners do not exist. The majority of inheritors will not be able to handle their new property. The return of the original owners and their inheritors will lead on its turn to dislocation of the second generation tenants. These are residents who naturally have the sense of belonging to the place. The social problems of urban renewal have entered a vicious circle: the eventual solution of some of them will lead to reciprocal ones.

Another important social aspect referring to the issue discussed in this writing is the ability of citizens to identify their interests in the urban renewal process, to selforganize and act cooperatively. During the period of socialism all residents were involved in one form or another in a number of causal organizations used by the communist party as a most effective system of direct control. The similarity of all these organizations was that they were accountable to and controlled by the communist party. The interests of the citizens were identified as the interests of the party, e.g. of the government. Thus, differentiation of interests was practically impossible. In reality these were organizations to suppress but not to express the interests of the citizens. This experience in nonproductive community psseudoactivity leads to the natural distrust and suspicion in citizens against the forms of community work. This comes as a supplement to the original distrust that the government may serve the interests of its electorate characteristic of the Bulgarian people.

The processes towards democratization which currently take place in Bulgaria lead to another extreme situation. As a reaction against and rejection of the former period, the forcedly homogenized society exploded into fragmentation. The diversity of presently expressed interests is in fact the diversity of expressed dissatisfaction with the numerous problems. In the present conditions it is as difficult to identify the interests of a community as it was under socialism. We face another vicious circle. While under socialism there was not actual recognition of individual and group interests other than the party interests, presently it is impossible to structure interests on a higher level than the individual. An enormous gap exists between the level of individual interests and the abstract interests of the state.

3.3. Evolution of urban renewal in Bulgaria

We can distinguish two stages of the evolution of urban renewal in Bulgaria. The first stage started in the mid-60s and continued towards the end of the 70s. This was a period of growth and economic stability of socialism. Politically this period was considered to be the stage of "mature socialism". The approach used in this stage of urban renewal, resembled this used in the early stage of urban renewal in Europe and the USA, that is, the bulldozer-type approach. The motivation of this approach though is quite different. The cores of the large and medium-size cities were cleared and new development took place. As a rule this is a large, strongly representative square framed by the buildings of the party and the local municipality. Usually the frame is completed by a multifunctional cultural building and

administrative buildings, such as the post-office, offices or some services. The dominance of the Party Home is indisputable, the large square in front of it is designed to accommodate many people taking part in the socialist mass events - manifestations of the working people. As these structures were deliberately designed to represent the leading role of the party, they are usually overscaled and dehumanized. To commemorate the achievements of socialism in the early 70s, usually close to the main square a high rise building - a hotel or office was built.

The easiness with which buildings and entire blocks from the period of capitalism were destroyed lay in the ideological concept that capitalism did not create significant values. Even more devastating for the cities was the construction of new roads (communication syndrome) through their centers, usually not respecting the existing street pattern. The necessity for such roads was often used as an excuse for the clearance of old buildings. As a result, the urban tissue of almost all city centers was seriously damaged. Urban renewal, known as urban reconstruction led to diminishing of the urban identity and growing uniformity of their centers.

The mid-70s mark important change in the approach concerning the physical aspects of urban renewal. This change can be noticed first in professional circles - urban designers and architects. The influence, which initiates this change, comes from Western Europe, where 1975 is declared as the Year of European Architectural Heritage. At the same time, Bulgarian professionals rediscovered the values of the architectural legacy from the capitalist period. An important objective factor which contributed to a new prospective to the legacy from the recent past are the economic difficulties of the late 70s. The existing building stock acquired material value. The economic stagnation cooled the ambitions of local party leaders to commemorate their period of ruling with new construction. Finally, this was a period in which socialism became more humane and the concerns of local citizens were an important though indirect consideration in urban renewal.

The second stage of urban renewal in Bulgaria extends into the present days. The growing respect for the existing physical context spread out from strictly professional circles and gradually became public concern. In the late 70s and early 80s the first projects that showed a careful approach to the existing urban tissue appeared. Such were the renewal projects for the centers of Pazardjik and Vidin (prof. Ivan Nikiforov and team). A major technique that was used was pedestrianization of the central areas. These projects preserved the existing housing stock and adapted it to new uses. Later this approach became used in urban design projects for the city centers. Almost every large and middle-size city developed its pedestrian area which generally included animation of the open spaces; rehabilitation of part of the ground levels, accommodating retail and services; conservation and repainting of the facades.

The celebration of the 1300 year anniversary of the foundation of Bulgaria in 1981 led to a leap of interest towards the legacy of the past. The activity of the National Institute for Monuments of Culture and its affiliates received wide recognition. The initial reason

for this impetus "from above" was ideological and political, but in a centrally controlled society it was the turning point to the shift in urban renewal to a conservationist and revitalization approach.

The above mentioned urban design projects addressed a wide range of issues such as: revitalization of the outdoor spaces; landscaping; conservation and renewal of the urban tissue (from the single facade or facade element to the clearance and reconstruction of buildings or even street fronts; designation of new functions and uses; transportation plans; improvement of the infrastructure and other technical facilities. Given the earlier experience of depopulating the city centers, important weight was attributed to the residential function of the renewal areas.

While the design stage of the urban renewal process was performed at comparatively high standards, the actual implementation was an insignificant portion of the overall visions of the projects. Soon, the designs proved to be not more than beautiful blueprints for the future, without actual impact on the present reality. The implementation usually confined to the refurbishment of the streets and the street facades. The system of socialist technocratic planning did not have the techniques for a successful implementation of the design ideas. The social aspects of urban renewal principally were not recognized and existed only as an abstract consideration in the designer's mind. The citizens played a trifling role in the process. Their opinion was intuitively taken into consideration. It was not sociological surveys, but rather the empirical personal experience of the decision-makers and the designers which reflected the social context. According to the existing legislation, the citizens approached the planning process in a short 14 day period after the preliminary design and their opinion usually referred to details regarding property. The "reflection" of their considerations in the last stage of the urban design was a simple but important formality.

3.4. The urban renewal as a planning process - the case of Rousse

I shall describe in brief an urban renewal planning process in former socialist Bulgaria, using as an example the case of Rousse, a 200000 city on the Danube. The center and the inner city areas of Rousse comprise of the most significant for Bulgaria historical legacy from the turn of the century. Thus Rousse represents a very characteristic case of Bulgarian urban renewal today.

Until 1986 Rousse did not actually have an urban renewal plan for the city center. Urban renewal was carried according to the basic guidelines of the original masterplan from 1971 (fig.13) and its current revision which has not been yet approved. The lack of urban renewal strategy strongly contributed to the damages in the urban tissue which have been done since the late 60s. In the middle of the 80s, it was already apparent that the continuous process of deterioration would soon lead to the actual loss of important historical monuments; to the destruction of the original urban tissue and the loss of identity of the

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 окончателен проект
 директивен застроителен
 план на централната зона

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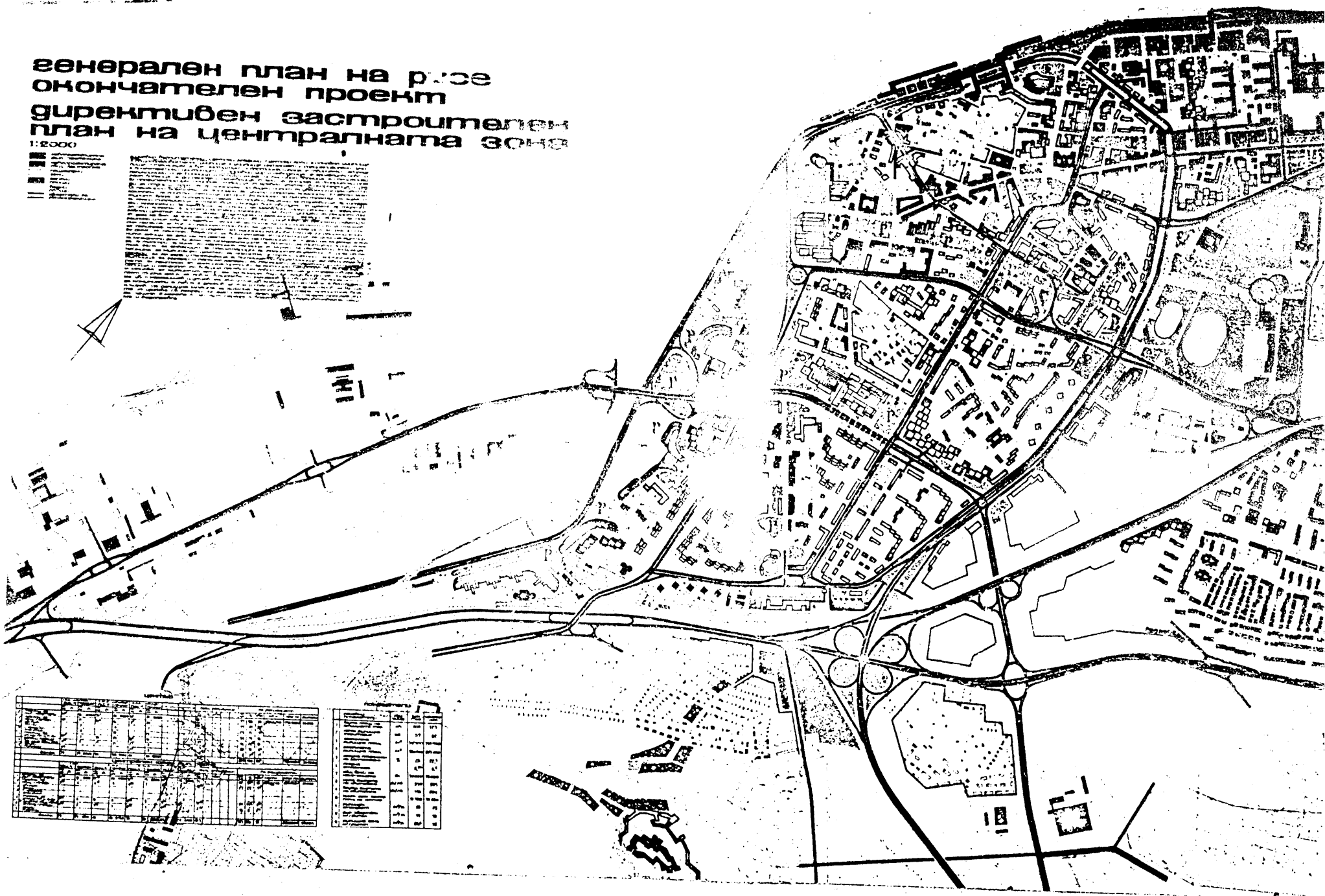
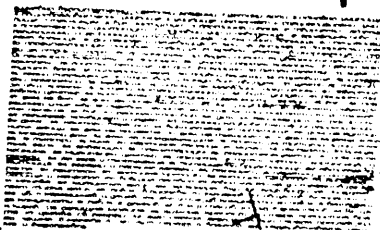
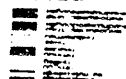


fig 13 Masterplan of Rouse - 1971

city center.

This was the general reason for which in 1986 a design team from the Regional Design Organization was asked by the city government to prepare an urban renewal plan for the city center. At the same time the local government entered into a contract with the National Institute for Monuments of Culture, as a result of which the NIMC started work on guidelines for the conservation and revitalization of the historical core. The preparation and approval of the two plans comprise the urban renewal planning process in this case. Taken together, they represent the "best" of Bulgarian latest experience in urban renewal. That is why, an observation of this case of planning gives an idea about the typical technocratic way widely used in Bulgaria.

3.4.1. Actors and steps in the planning process

The following actors took part in the planning process:

- **On regional level** - The National Institute for Monuments of Culture (NIMC)
- **On local level** - The City Council
 - The Regional Design Organization
 - The local division of the NIMC

The guidelines for the conservation and revitalization of the historic core (called Directive Plan - Concept, fig.14) was prepared by the office of NIMC, "responsible" for Rousse. The actual team includes two architects.

The City Council is primarily represented by the "City Architect" who serves as a mediator between the Mayor, the Executive Committee of the City Council and the design team. The "City Architect" heads the Department of Regional Development, Building and Architecture. Several other employees of this department provide technical assistance, but only the City Architect takes part in the decision-making process. The Department of Cultural Heritage has a limited advisory role in the planning process. The actual actor is its chair - a sculptor.

The Regional Design Organization is represented by the Department of the General Plan, a department established for the revision of the General Master Plan of Rousse in 1985. The urban renewal plan is prepared by a team of three architects. They are supposed to work on requirements designed by the City Council. As the usual practice is, the City Council authorizes the design team to prepare the requirements as well.

The local division of the NIMC is represented by two architects. One of them is engaged in the planning process as a mediator between the City Council and the team from the NIMC preparing the project.

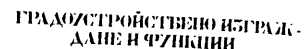
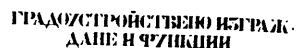
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fig.14 Directive Plan - Concept, for the center of the Danubia town - Vidin

Other institutions are engaged on different stages of the routine approval process. In the NICM, the Directive Plan - Concept is discussed and approved by the Expert Council. It includes the Director, other senior officials from the NICM, all architects. Representatives from the City Council of Rousse are invited. They are the Mayor and the City Architect.

In the Regional Design Organization the urban renewal plan is discussed and approved by the Expert Council of the RDO. It has similar structure as the Expert Council of the NICM and is comprised of architects and some engineers.

Finally, the plans are discussed and approved by the Expert Council on Regional Development, Building and Architecture at the City Council - ECRDBA. The Expert Council consists of the Mayor, his deputies, the city architects and other important officials observing the compliance with standards, regulations and legislature. Representatives from the Ministry (Committee) of Regional Development and the Union of Bulgarian Architects are appointed as temporary members of the Expert Council. The two plans are discussed on the same meeting as they target different aspects of the same problem and in this way are considered to complement each other.

Before the meeting of the ECRDBA, the plans are discussed on a meeting of the local section of the Union of Bulgarian Architects. This meeting does not have a status of approval, but is considered important for the engagement of public opinion. In fact, this is the opinion of local professionals, primarily architects. During the process of planning, the local press mentions the preparation of the plans in several articles, usually praising the new visions of the local architects.

Some facts make the case of Rousse exceptional and particularly interesting for the main issue of this paper, e.g. the fusion between urban renewal and citizen participation. In 1986 the State Council approved Requirement #1 for the approval procedures of urban plans in inner cities, e.g. urban renewal plans. According to this procedure, such plans have to be approved at least by 75% of the local residents. Techniques for such an approval process are not precisely specified in this document. According to the original procedure, citizens may discuss, make suggestions or object the plans in a 14 day period after the announcement of the preliminary plan in the State Newspaper (an equivalent of the Federal Register, published by the State Council). It could be assumed that if more than 25% of the population objected to the plans (accessible in this period in the City Council), the plan must be revised.

The design team of the plan proceeded in a different way. A meeting with the local residents was announced. The idea was to achieve communication with residents which was considered important by the design team, all young architects. I would qualify this meeting, which took place in March 1989 as the first attempt ever in Bulgaria to involve citizens in the planning process.

The description of the planning process clearly shows an established and elaborated

technocratic process. The plans are prepared only by professionals. The actual "active" planners for the two projects are totally six architects (included the City Architect). Other professionals, predominantly architects and local officials, take part in a long approval process on different levels. I would describe this role in the planning process as "passive". The case shows a genuine attempt to involve citizens. This attempt becomes a failure which I shall later discuss in brief.

The plans address only the physical aspects of the issue. Social aspects are not discussed and recognized. There exist a gap between the urban design scheme and its implementation. Only limited parts of the design reach the level of implementation. These are the main square and some adjacent to it open spaces. Only a few state-owned shops and services are renovated as well. Slow renovation is carried on several of the 386 buildings, designated as "monuments of culture". Actually, the only actor on the stage of urban renewal is the state, represented by several professionals, mostly architects. There is no financial system which provides incentives for renewal to individuals or organizations. There is no involvement of citizens, even as a resource for information regarding their neighborhoods. The attempt of the local architects' team to initiate a dialogue with citizens shows that there is a lack of culture, permitting two-way communication, on both sides. The renewal plans are performed on a very high technical level, but the result is no more than documents giving a beautiful but frozen picture of the future with no actual influence on reality. The urban renewal crisis of Rouse continues.

Having had the opportunity to participate or observe the most important recent renewal projects in Bulgaria, I can characterize the case of Rouse as typical, despite the enthusiasm of the local group of architects to "open" the process of planning.

3.4.2. The meeting between planners and citizens

As a first attempt to involve citizens in the planning process, this meeting in March 1989 deserves special attention. The meeting was announced in the local paper and on the local radio. It took place in the meeting hall of the Regional Design Organization, where all drawings and models were exposed. About 100 citizens attended the meeting which started at 7.00 p.m. As an independent public institution, the local section of the Union of Bulgarian Architects was considered to be the organizer of the meeting.

The urban renewal project was presented by the head of the design team in a 30-minute presentation. The presentation covered the objectives of the plan and its proposals. The speaker assessed the importance of the plan for the future of the city center and its key points. The presentation was designed as an introduction to a discussion with the citizens.

When the floor was given to the citizens, they in turn raised questions which, without a single exception, referred to the conditions provided by the plan for each citizen's private property. People whose property was unaffected left immediately the meeting. Others

wanted more details on the conditions imposed on their properties. Some bitter accusations and arguments were started by dissatisfied citizens. The meeting ended without a single recommendation or opinion regarding the plan as a whole.

The meeting took place half a year before November 1989, the beginning of the present transition toward market economy and democratization in Bulgaria. Despite the growing awareness and activity among citizens today, this meeting shows clearly some general problems that will hinder the appearance of active citizen participation in Bulgaria. Among them are the following:

- Lack of legislative context providing clear status of citizen involvement in the planning process
- Total lack of culture in both citizens and professionals, regarding communication between the two sides
- Distrust of citizens towards the activity of any official institutions
- Lack of legislative and financial mechanisms and techniques making the implementation of the plans possible
- Lack of interest among citizens in the general problems of their community, resulting from the disbelief that they can affect their community as a whole.

3.5. Guidelines for providing conditions for citizen participation urban renewal in Bulgaria

Despite the complexity of problems, the present processes in Bulgaria show a clear tendency towards political pluralism and decentralization. The state has no longer monopoly in any field of life, including urban renewal. The transition towards market-oriented economy makes the existing technocratic approach in planning even more absurd.

Citizens actions have tremendous impact on policy-making, especially on local level. More and more often, citizens express their willingness to take active part in any issue regarding our life. The scope of issues range from environmental to housing and services. We were witnesses for months of the Tent Cities in front of the City Hall in Rousse, Sofia and other major cities. Some of these citizens actions blocked programs which affected their immediate interests. Some, such as the declaration of the Independent Republic of Bulgaria in the region of Razgrad, had symbolic meaning and in an ironic way made politicians deal seriously with ethnic issues. All these prove that there is enormous energy and potentiality among citizens which could eventually lead to constructive influence on urban life in Bulgaria. It is known that in some Eastern European countries (for instance Poland) in which the processes of change are more advanced, in smaller communities citizens have

already major role in the governmental process.

As a result of the democratization process in Bulgaria, citizens associations with different general purpose came into being. The majority of them have political orientation, but some of them regard directly urban issues and as an important part of them urban renewal. The first association of this kind, "The 61 Committee" was registered in Veliko Turnovo in January 1990. "The Committee for Revival of Rousse" was proclaimed soon afterwards. Similar associations have been registered in other cities, as well.

These are associations of representatives of the former social intelligentsia, highly educated professionals, writers, artists, actors, architects, engineers, etc. The main goal of these citizens associations is to play regulatory role in the decision-making process on local level. As their members are among the most renowned citizens with important influence in different fields of social life, these independent groups have become quickly an important factor in the policy-making process. I would compare this early stage of citizens' activity as close to citizens' actions from the early 60s and 70s in the USA and Western Europe. This is more resistance and opposition to the official policy, rather than constructive contribution to the decision-making process. At the same time the new citizens' associations are the first self-organized citizen groups. They represent the interests of the local community as a whole and if conditions are provided they can play an important constructive role in the planning process.

The complexity of political and social life in Bulgaria presently is unprecedented in our history. The collapse of the centrally planned economy resulted into economic plight and impoverishment of the population. According to some suggestions in the press, more than 80% of Bulgarian people face poverty. Active citizen participation is impossible in conditions, in which citizens are overwhelmed by the problems of everyday life. In this respect, any direct transferal of models, methods and techniques from the experience of the USA or other countries is impossible. On the other hand, as the state structures of government are practically disfunctional, the tendency which the present activity of citizens will take, is crucial for the survival of the inner cities.

"Starting from scratch" was an often repeated phrase on the National Conference on Citizen Participation 1992 in St.Paul (). The implication was that in many states, cities or places citizen participation is not a familiar concept. This is the present condition in Bulgarian urban life. The lessons from the US experience suggest several trends in which efforts might be undertaken to facilitate the development and functioning of community associations, groups and citizens generally:

- in education
- in the legislative system

- in the financial system
- in the structure of local governments
- pilot projects

3.5.1. Education

I regard my experience at the Institute for Policy Studies of the Johns Hopkins University as a small part of the beginning of an educational process facilitating citizen participation in Bulgaria. As it is often the case, academicians are the first to throw light on an emerging social process. The increasing participation of Bulgaria scholars, politicians, practitioners in similar programs in the USA and in other countries is a direct way for developing a new awareness towards urban policy-making and as a part of it community involvement and participation.

Another way of facilitating the process is organizing workshops on this issue in Bulgaria. The IPS has already started similar projects on local government issues in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Sofia, Rousse and other major cities in Bulgaria are even now able to provide the conditions for such workshops. Potential counterparts of such programs in Bulgaria are: The Institute of Sociology of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, The Union of Architects in Bulgaria. The University for Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy, Sofia, The Ministry of Construction, local governments, citizens associations .

An indirect way of the educational process is providing and translations of basic literature on the issue. Such information practically does not exist presently in Bulgaria. In Appendix C, I apply a list of possible titles on the subject, which I consider an important factual knowledge, having in mind the absence of modern informational systems in Bulgaria.

The creation of citizens guides, manuals and other printed materials, such as the quoted in this report, is another powerful instrument of the educational process towards citizen participation. As the technocratic approach of decision-making implied priority of information and secrecy, such materials are completely unknown in Bulgaria.

Regarding the existing educational system in Bulgaria, the creation of courses on participatory planning in the School of Architecture, Sofia is highly possible. The School of Architecture offers presently the only program in urban planning.

Finally, the application of information dissemination techniques, described earlier, such as newsletters, local newspapers, local radio and TV, are immediately applicable in community life. Dessiminating information on planning and other local issues is a necessary way of "breaking the ice", of restoring the trust among citizens to the local governments.

3.5.2 Legislature

The legislative system in Bulgaria has been subject to dramatic changes during the last two years. The new Constitution, the Law of Privatization, The Law for Restitution, the Law of Land, the Law of Foreign Investment, the Law of Trade were adopted by the new Parliament. These laws are supposed to provide the legislative context of a democratic market-oriented society. The laws have been elaborated by expert commissions at the Parliament following thorough analysis of the similar legislature in the western democracies.

The Law of Territorial and Settlement Planning (LTSP) of 1971 has not been revised yet. Currently two competing variants are being designed by the Union of Architects in Bulgaria and the former Committee for Territorial and Settlement Planning. This is the basic legal document governing the planning of Bulgarian cities and urban renewal, in particular. It is the act which is the basis for Regulation #1 from 1988 establishing standards for citizens approval of urban renewal projects. Regulation #1 is the only document which has a piece of the idea of participatory planning.

One of the basic weaknesses of the LTSP is that it does not provide conditions for acting in local, specific circumstances. All the successful urban renewal programs in foreign experience have been backed by local by-laws and regulations. Such do not exist in Bulgarian legislature. As long as this model of central legislature is preserved, conditions for citizen participation are not possible.

The idea of appointing a parliamentary commission to devise document on planning and participatory planning, in particular, which may become a part of the new Planning Law, is consistent with the general tendency of democratization and decentralization.

3.5.3. Financial System

Presently, there does not exist any system, providing incentives for citizen involvement in urban renewal. What is more, there is not a system providing incentives for individuals, private owners and small organizations for urban renewal. In the deep current economic and financial crisis, it is impossible to recommend any of the models used in Western European countries or the USA. Such models, based on shared covering of expenses among the state, the city and the owner need certain accumulation of wealth and a working banking system, which is not the case in Bulgaria. In such circumstances, a process similar to **gentrification** must be expected in the inner city areas. Such a process is the only way to preserve and enhance the physical qualities of the environment, while at the same time changing the existing social structure of the inner cities. The transitional period is inherently destructive.

3.5.4. Structure of Local Governments

Despite the dramatical political and social changes, it is only the color but not the structure, which has changed in local governments. The examples of St. Paul, Baltimore or Bologna show that decision-making with citizens involvement is a matter of choice and needs appropriate organizational structure. Positions, such as **community planner** or **community coordinator**, prove to be crucial for the constructive communication between city and community. A proper structure according to the specific local history, traditions and circumstances might be a decisive factor for starting a dialogue between government and community.

3.5.5. Pilot Projects

The long experience in citizen participation in the USA clearly shows the importance of pilot projects, of real examples that serve themselves as models. It is a shared belief among citizen activists in this country, that the first step may be small but visible and convincing. Such an approach is especially valid for the collective psychology of the Bulgarian people. A successful urban renewal project with any form of citizens involvement would serve as a catalizer for the development of the process. Particularly suitable for such projects are smaller cities and communities, which were not so drastically shattered by the transition and in which there is traditionally strong sense of community.

Pilot projects were not used as an instrument for testing and developing an idea in communist Bulgaria. The term **experimental projects** was used referring to urban designs different from the stereotyped normative designs. They can be easily translated into pilot projects, as they combined the support of the Union of Architects in Bulgaria, the Committee for Territorial and Settlement Planning and the regional and local governments. A pilot project for urban renewal with participatory planning will need the joint efforts and support of these and other institutions. Such an idea may include foreign consultants. Because of its close relation to the democratic changes, it may be technically assisted and partially funded by American federal or other programs directed presently to Central and Eastern Europe. I would mention as potential places for pilot projects the old center of Rousse and the small city of Aitos, which have the need and the potentiality for urban renewal programs with citizen participation.

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to predict the continuation of events on the present Bulgarian social horizon. Despite the estimates of foreign experts, that the transition in Bulgaria is conducted in an "orderly way", there is enormous political and social tension.

There is lot of speculation presently with the word democracy and the concept behind it. The old totalitarian system is entirely disassembled two and a half years after November 1989 but "totalitarian" thinking, e.g. not regarding others thinking, prevails everywhere . A sociological survey, recently conducted in Bulgaria shows paradoxical results. Among Eastern Europeans, Bulgarians are the most pessimistic about the present and the most optimistic about the near future. According to another inquiry, Bulgarians would most like the best of the capitalist and socialist systems, combined in our future society: high productivity of labor with social security, free enterprise and social equality, high competition and equal distribution, privatization combined with free health care and education, individual liberty and no crime.

If this is to be the case, citizen participation, not only in urban renewal but in all spheres of life, must become an important factor in shaping our social and physical environment. My experience in the leading capitalist country, makes me think that citizens involvement and participation may be the regulatory mechanism countering the forces of the free market. My personal interpretation of citizen participation is that it is a proof for real democracy and at the same time it is "socialism on a local level". Deferring from the abstract state socialism, which has nothing to do with real life, citizen participation leads in its best forms to sound and stable community life on a local and neighborhood level.

Bulgarian democratic traditions from the period after the Liberation; our traditions in cooperatives, oldest in Europe; our traditional mutual tolerance are the prerequisites for the appearance and development of citizen participation. Bulgarians have to overcome though many of the bad legacies of the recent past.

Appendix A

- **Charrette:** Process which convenes interest groups (governmental and non-governmental) in intensive interactive meetings lasting from several days to several weeks.
- **Citizen Advisory Committees:** A generic term used to denote any of several techniques in which citizens are called together to represent the ideas and attitudes of various groups and/or communities.
- **Citizen Employment:** Concept involves the direct employment of client representatives; results in continuous input of clients' values and interests to the policy and planning process.
- **Citizens Honoraria:** Originally devised as an incentive for participation of low-income citizens. Honoraria differs from reimbursement for expenses in that dignifies the status of the citizen and places a value on his/her participation.
- **Citizen Referendum:** A statutory technique whereby proposed public measures or politics may be placed before the citizens by ballot procedure for approval/disapproval or selection of one of several alternatives.
- **Citizen Representation on Public Policy-Making Bodies:** Refers to the composition of public policy-making boards either partially or wholly of appointed or elected citizen representatives.
- **Citizen Review Board:** Technique in which decision-making authority is delegated to citizen representatives who are either elected or appointed to sit on a review board with the authority to review alternative plans and decide which plan should be implemented.
- **Citizen Training:** Technique facilitates participation through providing citizens with information and planning and/or leadership training, e.g., game simulation, lecture, workshops, etc.
- **Community Technical Assistance:** A generic term covering several techniques under which interest groups are given professional assistance in developing and articulating alternative plans or objections to agency proposed plans and policies. Some specific techniques are:
 - # Advocacy Planning, a process whereby affected groups employ professional assistance directly with private funds and consequently have a client-professional relationship.
 - # Community Planning Center. Groups independently plan for their community using technical assistance employed by and responsible to a community-based citizens groups.
 - # Direct Funding to Community Groups. Similar process to Advocacy Planning, however, funding comes from a government entity.
 - # Plural Planning. Technique whereby each interest group has its own planner (or group of planners) with which to develop a proposed plan based on the group's goals and objectives.
- **Computer-based Techniques:** A generic term describing a variety of experimental techniques which utilize computer technology to enhance citizen participation.
- **Coordinator or Coordinator-Catalyst:** Technique vests responsibility for providing a focal point for citizen participation in a project with a single individual. Coordinator remains in contact with all parties and channels feedback into the planning process.
- **Design-In:** Refers to a variety of planning techniques in which citizens work with maps, scale presentations, and photographs to provide a better idea of the effect on their

community of proposed plans and projects.

- **Drop-In Centers:** Manned information distribution points where a citizen can stop in to ask questions, review literature, or look at displays concerning a project affecting the area in which the center is located.

- **Fishbowl Planning:** A planning process in which all parties can express their support or opposition to an alternative before it is adopted, thereby bringing about a restructuring of the plan to the point where it is acceptable to all. Involves use of several participatory techniques - public meetings, public brochures, workshops, and a citizens committee.

- **Focus Group Interviews:** Guided interview of six to ten citizens in which individuals are exposed to others' ideas and can react to them; based on the premise that more information is available from a group than from members individually.

- **Game Simulation:** Primary focus on experimentation in a risk-free environment with various alternatives (policies, programs, plans) to determine their impacts in a stimulated environment where there is no actual capital investment and no real consequences at stake.

- **Group Dynamics:** A generic term referring to either interpersonal techniques and exercises to facilitate group interaction, or problem-solving techniques designed to highlight substantive issues.

- **Hotline:** Used to denote any publicized phone answering system connected with the planning process.

- **Media-based Issue Balloting:** Techniques whereby citizens are informed of the existence and scope of a public problem, alternatives are described, and citizens are asked to indicate their views and opinions.

- **Meetings - Community-sponsored:** Organized by a citizen group or organization; these meetings focus upon a particular plan or project with the objective to provide a forum for discussion of various interest group perspectives.

- **Meetings - Neighborhood:** Held for residents of a specific neighborhood that has been, or will be, affected by a specific plan or project, and usually are held either very early in the planning process or when the plans have been developed.

- **Neighborhood Planning Council:** A technique for obtaining participation on issues which affect a specific geographic area; council serves as an advisory body to the public agency in identifying neighborhood problems, formulating goals and priorities, evaluating and reacting to the agency's proposed plans.

- **Ombudsman:** An independent, impartial administrative officer who serves as a mediator between citizens and government to seek redress for complaints, to further understanding of each other's position, or to expedite requests.

- **Open Door Policy:** Technique involves encouragement of citizens to visit a local project at any time on "walk in" basis; facilitates direct communication.

- **Planning Balance Sheet:** Application of an evaluation methodology that provides for the assessment and rating of project alternatives according to the weighted objectives of local interest groups, as determined by the groups themselves.

- **Policy Capturing:** A highly sophisticated, experimental technique involving mathematical models of policy positions of parties-at-interest.

- **Policy Delphi:** A technique for developing and expressing the views of a panel of individuals on a particular subject. Initiated with the solicitation of written views on the

subject, successive rounds of presented arguments and counterarguments work toward consensus of opinion, or clearly established positions and supporting arguments.

- **Priority-setting Committees:** Narrow-scope citizen group appointed to advise a public agency of community priorities in community development projects.

- **Public Hearings:** Usually required when some major government is about to be implemented or prior to passage legislation; characterized by procedural formalities; an official transcript or record of the meeting, and its being open to participation by individual or representative of a group.

- **Public Information Program:** A general term covering any of several techniques utilized to provide information to the public on a specific program or proposal, usually over a long period of time.

- **Short Conference:** Technique typically involves intensive meetings organized around a detailed agenda of problems, issues, and alternatives with the objective of obtaining a complete analysis from a balanced group of community representatives.

- **Value Analysis:** Technique which involves various interest groups in the process of subjectively ranking consequences of proposals and alternatives.

- **Workshops:** Working sessions which provide a structure for parties to discuss thoroughly a technical issue or an idea and try to reach an understanding concerning its role, nature, and /or importance in the planning process.

Appendix B

Cost and Benefit Analysis of Participatory Planning. Robert Aleshire

1. "The citizens of a community, given the opportunity to work together to arrive at a consensus, have the clearest and perhaps the only accurate perception of the needs and proper priority for their community. Planners act merely as organizers and accumulators of resources to fulfill the needs of the community as expressed and to provide the necessary information to the community decision-makers as to the constraints, in terms of resources and regulations, within which they must plan. This view may include the right of the citizen to make a wrong decision, a privilege extended to most other decision-makers."

2. According to the "elite" view, "the citizen has basically nothing to contribute, else the problem would not exist. Community problem-solving is a scientific pursuit and is the prerogative of technicians."

There is no great risk to predict that the problem for the costs and benefits of citizen participation in planning will be one of the first raised when citizen participation inevitably appears on the urban scene of Bulgaria. Especially if we consider that modern Bulgarian planning is entirely technocratic and until recently frequently served for the justification of decisions already made. For this reason we shall apply here one of the most extensive analysis of this matter made by Robert Aleshire in "Planning and Citizen Participation: Costs, Benefits and Approaches". Among the costs of participation are:

1. Citizen participation in the planning process will extend the period required and heighten the negative connotation of planning... Meaningful citizen participation requires time and effort and will increase the consumption of salaries, extend the time period involved, and may heighten the negative connotation of the planning process...

2. Participation is in a way the antithesis of administrative efficiency. A theoretically efficient administrative model would include a decision-making process involving as few people as possible to allow decisions to be made quickly. the cost-benefit view point of analysis would require that costs be kept as low as possible...

3. Participation in the planning process arouses the expectations of the citizens involved... If resources for implementation are not available, the frustration of all those involved arises.

4. Participation in planning raises the question of whether decision-making should be the result of rational reasoning and factual research or the end of consensus product of intergroup pressure. Citizen groups bring to a planning process, problems and priorities that are often hard to quantify...

5. Participation raises the difficult question of defining who is the "citizen"... The planner must decide whether to try to serve all the citizens, recognizing their conflicting points, or whether to play one point against another and serve that viewpoint that survives

the combat. The leadership of the citizens may change frequently and citizen leaders may have their own individual agenda which are not consistently based on the interests of many or all of the residents of the area involved... Poor people probably do the least planning of any segment of our society... Asking poor people to participate in a planning process, which in itself implies delayed action, is somewhat contradictory...

6. The sixth cost of participation is representation of the unrepresented. this includes representation of the metropolitanwide interests of neighborhood planning, planning for future as well as present residents...and planning for future conditions versus the present.

7. The seventh cost or dilemma of citizen participation is that planning must and should precede action, although action is necessary to secure the interest of citizens and thus support their participation. Planning is unreal action. The involvement of citizens in something which is not real is, at best, very difficult to achieve...

8. An eighth cost of participation is that it requires sustained training, information, and technical assistance which the residents will accept and believe in. Blind confrontation between citizens and technicians is sometime caused by lack of knowledge or faith in the training and technical assistance being provided. The level of training and technical assistance required initially is almost as much as needed for planning itself, and is seldom provided...

9. The available choices in any situation are seldom clear or unilateral. Citizen participation may result in the development of clear decisions or demands which may be in conflict with current conditions...

In summary, citizen participation in planning does make the process of planning more complex and more difficult, perhaps more costly and time consuming. It involves some conflicts and dilemmas which are not easily solved and with which few planners have sufficient insight or background to deal effectively. The planning process itself involves some factors that are not consistent with a thoroughly efficient planning model. Citizen participation after this analysis appears not to be the ultimate panacea solving all problems arising in urban renewal.

The benefits of citizen participation in the process of planning are summarized by Alshire as follows:

1. The basic benefit is that planning should not be done without participation, as a matter of political right in a democratic society... it strengthens and helps to preserve the democratic process...

2. Citizen participation represents a check and balance against the idealistic or the technocratic theorist... it is not possible to separate planning and decision-making...citizen participation provides a most appropriate and necessary check against the well-reasoned power of technicians or professionals which may produce irrelevant and unresponsive action.

3. Participation provides a forum for the exchange of priorities. Each citizen or a group of citizens brings to the planning process a different mix of priorities. Participation in the planning process provides the opportunity for consultation among groups...A meaningful citizen participation should seek to resolve such conflicts among citizens. The planning process provides such kind of forum.

4. A fourth benefit is leadership development. As a process of planning and community development grows more technical, there must be leaders who can bridge the gap between the citizens and the technocrats. These leaders must be ingenious and must be developed in a continuing fashion. Participation in the planning process provides the opportunity as well as the necessity to develop such a cadre of leaders...

5. Citizen participation frequently serves the role of either taking the heat of hot issues or making the cold ones hot...Citizen participation engendered by certain issues can demonstrate that community attitudes have changed, or that there is support of what is felt to be a politically infeasible or unpopular idea..

6. Citizen participation in planning should support the movement towards issue politics both in general and within political parties. Citizens learn more about the intricacies of problems and gain the information they require to deal with these problems. The necessity of politicians discussing community development issues and problems increases. There should be little debate that the movement from personality to issue politics is a desirable trend...

7. Citizen participation plays a kind of iconoclastic role. Technocrats or political decision makers frequently operate on the basis of... long standing assumptions about people's desires or about the root cause of problems. A meaningful participation process can identify the flaws in such reasoning and assumptions. It may destroy paternalistic assumptions about the desires of citizens or scientific conclusions about the roots of problems...

8. Citizen participation in planning can also help to unite the physical and social planning structures...The citizen enters the planning process with little knowledge of, or respect for, the proper boundary lines of the health, education, or physical planning constituencies. His life is an integrated process and he does not carefully distinguish where the duties of social workers cease and the duties of guidance counselors begin. He expects an integrated response from the institutions of society...If the citizen puts demands upon the entire system, the entire system should be forced to respond and, in the process, integrate the constituencies and weaken even destroy, the various planning enclaves.

In summary, one end product of participation is that citizens gain a new understanding of community interrelationships. As data and information about given neighborhood or a given problem are more widely shared and the interrelationships of problems are seen more clearly, the mutual interests of groups in the neighborhoods emerge to form the basis of alliances which increase the power of citizens and their ability to influence institutions of society. Building the ability to make decisions is an extremely important process. To

encourage constructive reform, the citizens must gain an understanding and thus an educated frustration about the operation of the system. If he does not understand the system problems, he may become completely disillusioned and decide that the reform is not possible or, or alternatively that it is not important.

We may draw the following conclusions from the costs and benefits analysis. It is obvious that the costs are more concrete and easier to measure in terms of time, money and efforts. The vice versa, the benefits of participatory planning are more abstract and less subject to qualitative measures. The costs and benefits issue is still topical in the USA. There is even withdrawal from citizen participation in the 80s or at least there is diminishing federal support to participation. Citizen participation is by no means something granted today. While it is generally recognized as the prerequisite for successful urban renewal, especially in academic (e.g. independent) circles, the present reality of urban renewal practice in the USA shows that the traditional approach in planning (that is without citizen involvement) is still widely used. Citizen participation could be in many cases only simulated, enough to meet the legislative standards.

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